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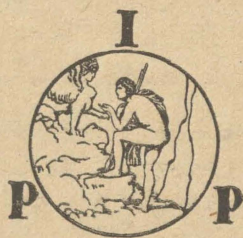
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PART 2

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

PRIMITIVE MAN AND ENVIRONMENT

by

G. RÓHEIM, Budapest.

The problems that arise from the interaction of primitive man and his environment are, speaking in general terms, the subject-matter of the science of anthropogeography. We do not intend to throw even a cursory glance at such a vast topic in this article; the question we are concerned with is, how these biological relations are reflected in the psychic life of the individual and society.

At the very outset of our investigations our attention must be riveted on a very general, probably universal, aspect of primitive culture: we mean totemism.¹ *Totemism is the belief in the existence of a specific magico-religious connexion between a human group and a natural species.* If we start from the assumption, as we are compelled to, that primitive beliefs, or indeed beliefs in general, although they may not represent a rendering of facts

¹ The view of totemism advocated here is not completely new, as similar comments on this subject have been made by B. Anckermann: "Das Problem des Totemismus", *Korrespondenzblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1910, S. 80; *Id.*: "Ausdrucks- und Spieltätigkeit als Grundlage des Totemismus", *Anthropos*, X/XI, S. 586; E. Reuterskiöld: *Die Entstehung der Speisesacramente*, 1912, S. 80; *Id.*: *Anthropos*, 1914, S. 650; Gräbner: *Anthropos*, 1915/16, S. 255; H. Werner: *Die Ursprünge der Metapher*, 1919, S. 216. This side of totemism as well as other psychic attitudes which are condensed in this primitive phase of social and religious evolution will be discussed in my book on "Australian Totemism".



which is strictly correct from the standpoint of the terminology of consciousness, yet in a certain measure, in some psychic or organic strata of our individuality, correspond to something that actually exists,¹ we shall be tempted to regard this belief as the expression in the language of unconscious symbolism of the *unity which connects human life with Nature*. There can be no doubt about the existence of a biological connexion between man and his environment and it is the endopsychical knowledge of such a connexion that is projected by primitive man into the belief in a "magical" bond between a clan and a natural species. In animal life the adaptation of a species to environment is represented by the organic variations in which certain animals actually adopt the colour and outward aspect of others.² Corresponding to this we have the belief of savages in their power of transformation in ritual. For instance we have the totemic ceremony of the witchetty grub totem in the Arunta tribe. The performer represented a witchetty grub: he quivered his extended arm in imitation of the movements of the insect's wings.³ In the "intichiuma" of the emu totem the performers imitate the aimless gazing about of that bird, each man holding a bunch of twigs in his hands, the churinga on the head with its tuft of feathers being intended to represent the long neck and small head of the bird.⁴ The kangaroo ceremony of the Bathurst Islanders is started by one or two men jumping into the ring with their legs slightly bent at the knee. Their arms are held forward, bent vertically and at right angles at the elbow with their hands prone and partly closed. The whole posture is that of the hopping marsupial of Australia.⁵ In intichiuma ceremonies the actors are supposed not merely to imitate but to be actually transformed into the semi-animal, semi-human totemic ancestor whose life is enacted by them and it is

¹ This is especially emphasized by E. Durkheim: *Les formes elementaires de la vie religieuse*. 1912.

² Cf. Charles Darwin: *The Descent of Man*, 1898, I, 495; Hesse-Doflein: *Tierbau und Tierleben*, 1914, I, 373.

³ B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen: *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904, 180.

⁴ B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen: *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, pp. 182, 183.

⁵ Basedow: "Notes on the Natives of the Bathurst Island, North Australia", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913, p. 308.

evident that the magical ornaments worn by them on these occasions¹ are but superorganic survivals of a plastic mould of the body which is still represented by lower organisms but has disappeared in the course of evolution. To speak with Semon we shall say that *it is the numerous "engrams" of former changes² both temporary and permanent which survives in the belief in the possibility of a change from one shape to the other.* In a Wichita legend of the deeds of "Wets the Bed" we read: "They took a small bowl and filled it with water. They poured it on fire and when the smoke went up it sounded like thunder; as the people who had determined to change their nature flew up in the air those that wished to exist as animals went to different directions, some to the water."³ Or we may compare the story of "Child of a Dog". "So after recounting many troubles, they said to one another: Let us become something else, for we have met so much trouble and we are likely to meet more and in order to prevent this we must leave our old home and become something else."⁴ Most primitive people have an age of the world when everything is continually becoming something else,⁵ and here again primitive man finds himself in accordance with modern science which tells us that Nature operates through a sort of trial and error method and that the natural species which has proved itself best adapted

¹ See the books of Spencer and Gillen quoted above as well as Strehlow and Leonhardi: *Die Aranda- und Loritjastämme in Zentralaustralien*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Städtischen Völkermuseum, Frankfurt am Main, 1907. The theoretical remarks found in the text above will be set forth and, as far as proof in such matters is possible, proved in my work on "Australian Totemism".

² R. Semon: *Die Mneme*, 1920.

³ G. A. Dorsey: *The Mythology of the Wichita*, 1904, p. 114.

⁴ Dorsey: *op. cit.* 149.

⁵ Cf. for instances F. G. Speck: *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, (Univ. Penns. Anthr. Publ.) 1909, p. 107; J. Teit: *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia*, 1898 (F. Boas: Introduction, p. 6.); Th. Koch-Grünberg: *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 1916, II, S. 5. "Makunaima ist, wie alle Stammesheroen, der große Verwandler"; W. H. Brett: *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, 1868, p. 376 "Materials for the verse of an Indian Ovid"; Leo I. Frachtenberg: *Lower Umpqua Texts*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, 1914, IV, p. 7. "The Universal Change"; Dubois: *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, Univ. Cal. Publ, 1908, p. 139. The hero of the creation myth says "After things were in shape it would be this way"; J. Curtin: *A Journey in Southern Siberia*, 1909, pp. 100, 101.

to the struggle of life tends to become a permanent type (*Dauer-typus*) in the course of evolution. *Human races as they exist at present are much less subject to modification than they were in bygone times and thus the idea of the savages of a period of general change which preceded the present age is substantially corroborated by science.* The only point where the savage errs very considerably is in the category of time: he lets changes take place in a minute for which science postulates geological periods. However, there is a good reason for this error, which we shall explain below. The animal into which the savage still transforms himself on certain occasions is usually one which, from his point of view, looms forth with special prominence on his geographical horizon, which in itself may represent the immediate neighbourhood of the horde. "One origin frequently assigned by natives to these family names is that they were derived from some vegetable or animal being very common in the district which the family inhabited and that hence the name of this animal or vegetable became applied to the family."¹ In North West Australia as well as in Central Australia every totem has a special ceremonial ground, the prototype at once of the temple and the altar. It would seem that the totemic centre is in a part of the country where the animals of the totem species are plentiful.² The unconscious mechanism which Freud has called *reversal* operates in the mind of primitive man especially in relation to the categories of cause and effect,³ and it will not surprise us in the least if we see the savage reversing the natural sequence of things and explaining the distribution of an animal species by referring it to a human totem clan. According to the Lillooet Indians, "the Upper Bridge River Country was inhabited by the Deer people who were afterwards transformed into deer; therefore deer are most plentiful in that country at the present day."⁴ The imitative rites mentioned above are circular reactions called forth by stimuli

¹ G. Grey: *Journal of two Expeditions to North West and Western Australia*, 1841, p. 229. *Idem*: *Vocabulary of the Dialects of South Western Australia*, 1840, p. 4.

² A. R. Brown: "Three Tribes of Western Australia." *Journal Anthr. Inst.* 1913, p. 167.

³ Cf. Róheim: "Az ambivalentia és a megfordítás törvénye" (Ambivalency and the Law of Reversal). *Ethnographia*, 1918, 1-4.

⁴ J. Teit: *The Lillooet Indians*, *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, V, p. 275.

received from the environment, but as it lies in the nature of all psychic phenomena to reproduce themselves again and again in the same individual¹ this quality which is only valid from an endopsychical point of view is projected into the environment and the copies of things which take place in nature are thought to create and re-create their own originals from which they are derived. It is this reversal which, amongst other things, lies at the bottom of the much-discussed intichiuma ceremonies, this is why animals can be made to multiply by imitating them, why rain is made by pouring out water, black clouds by wearing black skins, etc.² The identification of human clans with natural species is an 'introjection'³ of nature into society which may be extended and systematised by the creation of sub-totems by the socio-morph categories into which certain tribes of South-East Australia and America press the manifold impressions created in man by the organic and inorganic world.⁴ Amongst the Wotjobaluk each totem contains a number of sub-totems. The sub-totems amount to a complete division of the universe between two phatries called after the White and Black Cockatoo. A man who belongs to the Krokitch moiety and the Sun totem claimed the Kangaroo as belonging to him, another claimed the star Bunjil. "The true totem owns him but he owns the sub-totem."⁵ Amongst the Tatta-thi, Wathi-wathi and allied tribes "the universe is divided between the different members of the tribe, some claim the trees, others the plains, others the sky, stars, wind, rain, and so on."⁶ "The Zuni pueblo is divided into seven parts, corresponding to their subdivision of the 'worlds' or world-quarters of this world. Thus one division of the town is supposed to be related to the north, another division to the east, yet another to the upper world, while a final division represents the middle or 'mother' and syn-

¹ Cf. J. M. Baldwin: *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, 1911, p. 250, on circular reaction, and S. Freud: *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, 1920, on compulsory repetition (*Wiederholungszwang*).

² For the data on imitative magic see Frazer: *The Magic Art*, 1911.

³ As to introjection see S. Ferenczi: "Introjection und Übertragung". *Jahrbuch der Psa.*, 1909, Bd. I, S. 422.

⁴ Durkheim et Mauss: "De quelques formes primitives de classification", *Année Sociologique*, VI, 1901/2.

⁵ A. W. Howitt: *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, 1904, 121-3.

⁶ A. L. P. Cameron: "Notes on some tribes of New South Wales". *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1884, p. 350.

thetic combination of them all in this world.”¹ The Chinese temple symbolises the universe² or rather we should say that the cosmological ideas of the Chinese were derived from the structure of their buildings and when we find the concept of the seven or nine strata of heaven amongst the rude tribes of Northern and Central Asia whose huts and tents present no analogy whatever to such a concept it is reasonable to infer that we have to do with traces of Chinese influence.³ If we thus come to the conclusion that *man projects his house into the universe* we shall try to go back one step further and ask what unconscious meaning he attributes to his own immediate, artificial surrounding. In Hungarian the expression ‘*háztüznézni*’, to go and look at the

¹ F. H. P. Cushing: “Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths”, XIII. *The Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1896, p. 367. “...in its ceremonial aspect the own square is symbolically a rainbow”. Frank. G. Speck: *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, 1909. Univ. Penns. Anthr. Publ., p. 111, Cf. *Ibid.* 57, 59.

² “Der chinesische Tempel ebenso wie der Palast der Großen oder das Haus ... stellen jeder für sich zugleich das Universum dar in verkleinerter Ausgabe, gerade wie die Bewohner es sich vorstellen”. E. Boerschman: *Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen*, 1911, I, p. 41. Cf. R. Andree: *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, 1878, S. 257; A. Bastian: *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, 1866, I, p. 159; “The temple of the Huichol represents the Universe, its roof is the sky.” K. Tp. Preuss: *The Nayarit Expedition*, 1912, pp. xxiii, xxiv; “The temple of Sippar is a copy of the Temple of Heaven.” R. Eisler: *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 1910, II, S. 606. (Contains other instructive parallels on seven floored temples and a corresponding idea of the universe found in ancient Babylon. Like buildings we frequently find cloaks and garments which symbolise the universe. Besides Eisler’s book which deals exhaustively and ingeniously with this subject see J. J. M. de Groot: *The Religious System of China*. Vol. VI, Book II, 1910, pp. 1266–8. This is quite evidently derived from the state of the embryo: enveloped in the amnion like a cloak, the cloak forming the limits of its Universe.)

³ Cf. W. Radloff: *Aus Sibirien*, 1884. *Das Schamanenthum und sein Kultus*; Gy. Mészáros: *Csuvas ősvallás emlékei* (Survivals of Chuvash Paganism), 1909, pp. 56, 247, 278; M. A. Czaplicka: *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, 281. “The good spirits live in seventeen floors above the earth while the bad occupy seven or nine under it”; B. Bergmann: *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken*, 1804, III, 17, 189; Smirnov: *Les populations finnoises de la Volga et de la Kama*, 1898, 138; “The vertical division of the Universe found in the mythology of the Bella Coola is perhaps derived from their totem-posts, with one generation on the top of the other. In fact they actually talk of a house with a post in front in the upper heaven.” F. Boas: *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, II, 1898, p. 28.

fire in a house, means to go a wooing. The Tami say to go under the roof of a foreign house, meaning to be after other men's wives.¹ In ancient Greece if a man who had been reported dead turned up again he was made to come down through the chimney² a rite which symbolised re-birth, the house being a substitute for the womb. We must remember that this identification of the dwelling with the universe, and the projection of the uterine impressions into the concept of the dwelling, leads us to the seemingly surprising conclusion *that primitive man unconsciously regarded the world which envelops him as a second womb, that his unconscious apperception of space is based on the experiences of antenatal life.* If we can bring ourselves to accept this idea—which is really part and parcel of a general view of psychic life as a series of continual repetitions³—as a working hypothesis to colligate the facts we shall find that primitive thought supplies us with just the materials we need to confirm us in this view.⁴ On the Upper Congo among the Boloki it appears that every family has what is called a "loboma" which is a pool in the bush or in the forest, or on an island it may be a creek or it may be a cotton tree; it is regarded as the preserve of the unborn children of the family. If a man has only one child by a wife and no more, he thinks someone has bewitched the family child-preservoir by taking the family stock of children from it and hiding them.⁵

¹ G. Bamler: Tami; Neuhauss: Deutsch-Neu-Guinea III, 1911, p. 504.

² Plutarch: Quaestiones romanae. 5; E. Liebrecht: Zur Volkskunde, 1879, S. 397.

³ If man is born with the concept of space it is natural to assume that he must have derived it from his own prenatal experience, and it must always retain the traces of having first been moulded on these impressions (or "engrams").

⁴ The cosmogonical myths which relate how in the beginning Father Sky was in close embrace with Mother Earth so that there was no room left for their children, and how these lifted the sky to its present height, contain (besides the Oedipus-complex) an "auto-symbolical" or "functional" account of the origin of the space concept which was first received in the cramped position of the embryo, the experiences of which were then projected into the universe. Gruppe: Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, 1906, I, S. 425; G. Grey: Polynesian Mythology, 1855, p. 1; A. Bastian: Die Heilige Sage der Polynesier, 1881, S. 36; Frobenius: Weltanschauung der Naturvölker, 1898, S. 350; Perry: The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia, 1918, p. 167; Ermann: Die ägyptische Religion, 1909, S. 35.

⁵ John H. Weeks: Among Congo Cannibals, 1913, pp. 129, 130.

The country of the Arunta is full of "Ertnatulunga", that is, small caves or crevices in some unfrequented spot amongst the rough hills with an entrance blocked up with stones so as to conceal it from the eyes of the profane. In these caves the ancestors of the tribe have deposited their sacred "churingas" the duplicate of their body which really represents their own self in the embryonic stage and where they continue to lead an existence which, like that of Barbarossa in the Kyffhäuser,¹ is death and life at the same time. But while the return of these mythic heroes of European nations is projected into the far future the heroes of Aruntadom are continually returning in every child that comes forth from his mother's womb to welcome the light of day.

For these mystic caves are full of "ratapa" spirit children, and should a woman feel the first signs of being *enceinte* near one of them it is certain that a prehistoric member of that particular totem will be reborn through her.² We cannot reasonably hesitate in calling these caves unconscious projections of the womb into the environment;³ thus this incarnation theory expresses in a most pregnant manner, besides other things, the unity of life which pervades a given geographical area. In this case the symbol becomes stronger than reality (or rather, we must say that it arises out of a repression of reality) and the totem clan of the child does not connect him with the real womb from which he was born nor with the man who gave him life, but with a given locality. That is: the child's totem differs both from that of his father and mother and is determined by what we should call a mere accident. The concept of certain fixed associations between

¹ Cf. E. F. Lorenz: "Die Geschichte des Bergmanns Falun", *Imago*, 1914, S. 250; E. S. Hartland: *The Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, p. 160, *The Supernatural Lapse of Time in Fairyland*; S. Baring-Gould: *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 1873, p. 93, *The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus*; P. M. Huber: *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, 1910. The real meaning of the myth may incidentally rise into consciousness without being recognized as such: the Seven Sleepers in the cave are compared to the embryo in its mother's womb, *ibid.* p. 452, See also B. Heller: "A Kyffhäuser mondafaj magyar vonatkozásai." (*The Legend of the Kyffhäuser and Hungary.*) *Ethnographia*, 1908, p. 12.

² Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, pp. 133-5. The theories which are advanced in the text on these questions will be set forth in detail in my book on "Australian Totemism".

³ Compare M. J. Eisler: "Über einen besonderen Traumtyp." *Imago*, Bd. VI, especially S. 335.

an individual and a given locality lies at the bottom of the idea of property in land.¹ At any rate, it is remarkable that we find what our sources refer to as "property" in land at a stage of social evolution in which there can be no economic meaning whatever attached to this idea. At the initiation ceremony of the Yaraikanna tribe (Cape York) with each blow the name of one of the "countries" owned by the lad's mother, by her father or by any other relative, is mentioned. These names are given in order, and the country whose name is mentioned when the tooth breaks away is the land to which the lad will belong.² On the Pennefather River when a child is born the grandmother takes the afterbirth away and buries it in the sand, marking the situation by a number of twigs which are stuck in the ground and tied together at their tops, forming a structure resembling in shape a cone. It is from these places that Anjea (a spirit) takes the choi (the vital essence which resides in the afterbirth) and conveys it to one of the lagoons or rocks which are regarded as his haunts. It is here that he stores up a sufficient supply of choi for the formation of new babies. When the navel-string is cut by the grandmother the different haunts of Anjea are called out and the name mentioned at the moment of breaking off tells them whence the choi was brought. This part of the country, and not the place where the child was actually born, will in the future be regarded as its "home", as the place where it has a right to hunt and roam.³ The parallelism between the Proserpine River and Central Australia lies in the circumstance that a special mystic connection is sup-

¹ For the exposition of this view I must refer to my article "Der Ursprung des Eigentumsbegriffes" to be published in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. See also B. Malinowski: *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, 1913, p. 153.

² A. C. Haddon: *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1904, V, p. 221.

³ W. E. Roth: *Superstition Magic and Medicine. North Queensland Ethnograph. Bull.* V, 1903, p. 182. This perhaps is the explanation of how the Greek "Omphaloi" came to be represented by a stone in the shape of a cone which has no similarity whatever to a human navel. Such stones were perhaps originally erected over the place where the placenta had been buried; hence their similarity to gravestones. These places would then come to be regarded as "navels" of the earth. Cf. W. H. R. Roscher: "Omphalos". *Abh. d. Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1913, Bd. XXIX, No. IX; *Idem*: *Neue Omphalosstudien*, *ibid.*, 1915, Bd. XXXI, No. I; Meringer: "Omphalos, Nabel und Nebel". *Wörter und Sachen*, V, S. 43—91.

posed to exist between the child and a part of the country, and that this part of the country is not the place, where the child was born but rather a mythical duplicate of that place, whereas the important difference is that the attitude of the individual is one of ownership or possession at the Proserpine River whilst amongst the Arunta it is the "touch me not" (taboo) aspect which dominates in regard to the Ertnatulunga.¹ Here we have the germs of a long line of evolution which leads to landed property and agriculture if the positive aspect of the womb-projection succeeds in holding the field, whilst the inhibitory or neurotic attitude towards the maternal womb is represented in various local cults and sacred places.² The same ambivalent attitude is observed by primitive man with regard to localities where anybody has been buried. It is worth while remarking in this connection that the doubled up position of the corpse has always attracted the attention of anthropologists on account of its similarity to that of the foetus in the womb³ and that the idea of reincarnation was only dis-

¹ Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, 134.

² For tabooed or haunted places compare A. van Gennep: *Tabou et Totemisme a Madagascar*, 1904, p. 194; A. W. Howitt: *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, 1904, p. 65; G. Bamler: *Tami*; Neuhauss: *Deutsch-Neuguinea*, III, S. 191, 513; Skeat and Blagden: *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 61; C. G. Seligmann: *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, pp. 183-6; R. Thurnwald: "Im Bismarck-Archipel und auf den Salomo-Inseln." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1910, S. 133; F. Boas: *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, 1895, S. 189, 194; S. T. Rand: *The Legends of the Micmacs*, 1894, p. 84; Andrian: *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, 1891. This uncanny aspect of hills, caves, lagoons, deserts or forests must be explained on the same lines as *agoraphobia* in an obsessional neurosis. In both cases we have to do with the repressed desire (converted into fear) for the female genital, the maternal womb.

³ Compare A. Dietrich: *Mutter Erde*, 1913, S. 28; F. von Duhn: "Der Sarkophag aus Hagia Triada", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1909, XII, S. 163, 180; R. Andree: "Ethnologische Betrachtungen über Hockerstellung." *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1907, S. 282-307; H. Busse: "Gruben mit Hockerbestattung und Flachgräber," *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, 1910, II, S. 66; G. Karo: "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Griechenland," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII, S. 358, 365; E. Lorenz: "Zu Mutter Erde", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XVI, S. 307; Th. Preuss: *Die Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner und Nordostasiaten*, 1894, 222; F. von Duhn: "Rot und Tot," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, IX, 1906, 15; R. Thurnwald: *Forschungen auf den Salomoinseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, 1912, I, S. 202; *Id.*: "Im

carded on the ground that such a concept was regarded as too complicated to be entertained by a primitive people. But since we know that it is a very different thing to form an unconscious concept of this type and to elaborate a highly sophisticated doctrine and that even the latter is far from being above the mental range of primitive man, we shall have less hesitation in following the first impressions and identifying the place of death with the place of birth. I may again be permitted to refer to the traditions of the Arunta, where the totem centres from which the spirit children are said to emanate are at the same time the places where the mythical ancestors went into the earth and set an end to their wanderings. The same ambivalent attitude which we have noted in connection with the place of birth is equally characteristic of primitive man in his relations to the grave¹. Whilst in tribes of the lowest type of social evolution the usual attitude is, that of a panic-stricken flight, so that the portion of the environment where a death has occurred is completely avoided for many years, in other tribes of a usually higher type the desire to remain in contact with the graves of their ancestors is a powerful motive of local fixation and a reason which incites them to resist the inroads of strangers into their territory.² It thus becomes apparent in what a powerful degree unconscious fixations determine the migrations and the whole social evolution of a people. Whilst the Bismarck-Erchipel und auf den Salomoinseeln," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1910, S. 131; W. H. R. Rivers: *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914, II, pp. 273, 281, 382, 539, 545; A. R. Brown: "Three Tribes of Western Australia". *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1913, p. 169. "The body is doubled up in a sitting posture and is placed facing the birthplace of the dead man or woman." (On burial at birth-place P. Foelsche: *The Unalla tribe*; E. M. Curr: *The Australian Race*, I, p. 272.)

¹ On the ambivalent attitude of primitive man as manifested in mourning rites see Freud: *Totem and Taboo*, 1919, p. 99; Róheim: *Spiegelzauber*, 1919, S. 197.

² As to the custom of leaving the dead where he is and removing the camp, compare Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, p. 499; *Idem.*: *Northern Tribes*, 1904, p. 519; A. W. Howitt: *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, 1904, p. 450; K. L. Parker: *The Euahlayi Tribes*, 1905, p. 89; C. G. Seligmann: *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, pp. 89, 191, 274; *Idem.*: *The Veddás*, 1911, p. 122; H. Ling-Roth: *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, I, p. 154; P. W. Schmidt: *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, 1910, S. 252, 253, 255, 256; Skeat and Blagden: *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 1906, II, pp. 89, 90, 93, 96, 100, 106, 111-13, 116; Schneider: *Die Religion der afrikanischen Natur-*

inhibition of the primary desire for the undisturbed bliss of the maternal womb compels man to lead a roaming life and thus saves him from merging into his environment before he can master it, it is by a return of repressed elements, by a breaking through of the positive wish-fulfilment aspect, although transferred from the original object to a symbolic substitute (Mother Earth instead of the real mother), that mankind manages to get a firm grip on his immediate environment and to rise in social organisation from the wandering hunter to the sedentary husbandman. Taking again the *Ertnatulunga*, which are usually small caves, as

völker, 1891, S. 136; A. van Gennep: *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, 1904, p. 64. Instead of exposure of children which we are familiar with in European legends and tales we find (in North West America) that the hero is left on the spot alone and the whole camp moves to a distant place; F. Boas: *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, 1895, S. 230, 288; S. T. Rand: *Legends of the Micmacs*, 1894, p. 270. This is the actual practice amongst the Bakairi: if they are dissatisfied with their chief they simply leave the village and ask him kindly to continue to rule, but without his subjects. K. von den Steinen: *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, 1897, S. 406. Fixation to environment increases with growing civilisation: the custom of deserting the place where the corpse is, disappears with the beginnings of dwellings of a permanent type, with the introduction of agriculture. That the forest Indians always do this while those "of the savannah occasionally shirk the ceremony is probably due to the fact that the houses of the former, unlike those of the savannah, are so slightly built that but little provocation is sufficient to induce their owners to desert them and build anew". (E. F. im Thurn: *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 1883, p. 225.) The Besisi who have agriculture in addition to the chase are beginning to drop this custom which is in full vigour amongst the non-agricultural tribes. Skeat and Blagden: *loc. cit.*, II, p. 106. The grave which is the object of veneration for the survivors and which is an alleged reason for sticking to a certain country is, at the same time, a part of environment avoided by the living and set apart for the use of the dead. In the attitude of humanity towards the graveyard we have the result of an unconscious compromise between the desire to remain in close contact with, and the impulse to flee from, the dead and the grave. The latest ingenious hypothesis of Prof. Freud teaches us to regard our psychic life in general as the result of a compromise between the life and the death-impulse; the latter being the psychic side of the general tendency in organic matter to return to an inorganic state. Thus we might perhaps regard the flight of savages from the scene of death as a primary reaction of the life-impulse, whilst the morbid attraction which the grave and the graveyard exercises on some people may be understood as the expression of a desire to return to a previous state of things (ante-natal life, inorganic existence) as a manifestation of the death-impulse. Cf. Freud: *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, 1920.

our starting point we shall see how the attitude of mankind to environment is determined both by ontogenetic and phylogenetic factors and again how these two lines of evolution react upon each other. The normal human attitude towards caves classes these as uncanny objects which are attractive and repulsive at the same time. We know through prehistoric research that primeval man, where opportunity presented itself, was frequently a cave dweller, and it seems probable that he had to contend for the possession of these caves with other cave-dwelling species such as the cave-bear, cave-lion, etc.¹ Even to-day the Bushmen and Australians show a certain predilection for caves and their cave paintings are very similar to those of the prehistoric European troglodytes.² In Australia we also find legends about supernatural beings who in ancient times lived in caves whilst at present their habitat is transferred to heaven.³ It is perhaps not too bold to refer these myths as well as the European belief in the Sleeping Hero in the Hill, the Fairy of the Mound, the elves and dwarfs as well as giants, to the troglodyte life of a former generation.⁴ But to my mind this habit of living in caves remains still to be explained. Of course there are rational reasons for seeking protection in these natural strongholds, but we can hardly look upon primitive man as a sort of theoretical strategist who first discovered these advantages and then, acting on the plan conceived, proclaimed war on the cave-dwelling animals. It is far more probable that he only discovered these advantages when he had already become

¹ Cf. Avebury: *Prehistoric Times*, 1900, pp. 212, 318; M. Moszkowski, *Vom Wirtschaftsleben der primitiven Völker*, 1911, S. 21; E. Ratzel: *Anthropogeographie*, 1909, I, S. 298, II, S. 272.

² Cf. Sollas: *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives*, 1901; G. G. Stow: *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 5, 13, 25, 32, 98, 101, 122, 131, 171, 184, 188, 192, 195, 201, 203, 230, 232, 453. "The tenacity with which isolated survivors of once powerful tribes of these Bushmen stuck to their old caves is astonishing. They preferred to linger out their lives in abject misery so long as they could remain in their neighbourhood." *op. cit.*, p. 228; J. Mathew: *Eaglehawk, and Crow*, 1899, p. 125.

³ G. Grey: *Journals of Two Expeditions to North and Western Australia*, 1841, I, p. 261; R. H. Mathews: *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria*, 1905, p. 140; A. W. Howitt: *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, 1904, p. 480.

⁴ But of course this does not mean that this was the unique source from which these mythical beings were derived. Compare the views of D. Mc. Ritchie (*The Testimony of Tradition*, 1890), who certainly advocates this point of view far too exclusively.

the permanent inhabitant of a cave, that if they influenced his behaviour in any way it can only have been as a mere after-thought. He must have been led by a blind impulse to search for and strive after a locality in which the concealment of his pre-natal life could be restored and to which his late descendants still conserved a feeling of mysterious attraction connected with an awe of the uncanny. When we come to the myth which tells us how mankind in general and animals were shut up in a cave,¹ we shall not fail to recognise these as conserving the imprints both of the prehistory of the race and the individual. In some of these myths the underworld (or the sky) is substituted for the cave, and, as if the myth-teller feared that his meaning could possibly be mistaken, we are told that the passage was stopped by an *enceinte* woman who got stuck in the hole.² It is evident that this passage of mankind through a hole in the earth is really a passage through the hole we all pass through when we first catch sight of the light of day.³ The Paressi, a people whose nearest relatives all have the myth of the origin of mankind from a cave, relate a very interesting version of this legend. In

¹ R. H. Lowie: "Catch-Words for Mythical Motives", *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1908, p. 27; J. Mooney: Myths of the Cherokee, XIX, Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900, pp. 287, 432; "Die Tiere sollen nach der Meinung der Kaileute aus Höhlen hervorgegangen sein, deren Betreten für die Menschen gefährlich ist." Ch. Keysser: Aus dem Leben der Kaileute; Neuhauss: Deutsch-Neu-Guinea, III, 1911, S. 160. Perhaps originally similar to the Central Australian *ertnatulunga*.

² P. Ehrenreich: Die Mythe und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker, 1905, S. 32, 33; H. R. Voth: Traditions of the Hopi, Field Columbian Museum, p. 96. VIII, Anthr. Series, 1905, p. 10; W. H. Brett: The Indian Tribes of Guiana, 1868, p. 389; *Idem*: Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of the British Guiana, 2nd. Ed., p. 56; E. im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. 1883, p. 277; Ehrenreich: Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. 1891, (Veröff. Kngl. M. v. V.), S. 39; Koch-Grünberg: Indianermärchen aus Südamerika, 1920, S. 225 (quoted from Barbosa Rodrigues: Poranduba Amazonense, 1890, p. 245). In another version of the same theme a woman who is with child is hurled down to the earth through a hole in the sky: this fall is but a cosmological projection of birth itself. S. G. Simmon: Traditions of the Crows. 1903, p. 299; H. N. B. Hewitt: Iroquoian Cosmology, XXI, *Report Bureau Am. Eth.* 1903, p. 177; H. R. Schoolcraft: Algic Researches, I, p. 135.

³ This interpretation of the myth has been given in an ingenious essay by W. Mathews ("Myths of Gestation and Parturition", *American Anthropologist*, 1902, IV, p. 737) who also explains the meaning of water and the tree (= navel string) in these myths.

this account all living beings come forth from the vagina of Maisö, who is represented as a woman of stone,¹ thus showing us that we have not been wilfully hunting for hidden meanings where there are none. Once more we have found the same attitude of ambivalency towards a part of man's environment, but in this case the positive aspect (cave dwelling, cave painting) seems to be the more archaic type of reaction, whilst progressive people do not find sufficient scope for their activity in the cramped possibilities of cave life. All that remains as the memory of these events of racial and individual life is a feeling of the uncanny which is here again, as usual, the reaction-formation against the return of what was once only too familiar to man.² In this case we have supposed that the specific conditions of ontogenesis have influenced the cultural development, the race history of mankind, his connexion with a part of his environment and that these myths and cults can be used as evidence of the psychological attitude which leads man to choose certain places for habitation. In another case it is clear that we must start with phylogenesis and search for the survival of pre-human conditions in the history of humanity and in individual symbolism. Klaatsch has ingeniously pointed out that the custom of burying the dead in trees in Australia may be the relic of the tree-life of our semi-human ancestors.³ Thus the Bahau at Koetei believe that "men

¹ Ehrenreich: *Mythen und Legenden*, S. 33; Müller: *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, 1867, S. 238. The Zuni version speaks of the Four Cave-Wombs of the Earth-Mother, and calls this rising from the Underworld "gestation", "birth", and "delivery". F. H. Cushing: *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths*, XIII. Report Bureau of American Ethnology, XIII, pp. 381, 382.

² See S. Freud: "Das Unheimliche", *Imago*, V, 5/6. Caves inhabited by demons; Tremearne: *The Ban of the Bori*, 1914, 235, *Haunted*; W. W. Skeat: *Malay Magic*, 1900, 14; *Uncanny, magical*; Westermarck: *The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco*, *Folk-Lore*, 1911, pp. 179, 180; Th. J. Westropp: *A Folklore Survey of County Clare*, *ibid.* 1912, 54. On the folklore of caves; P. Saintyves: *Porphyre, L'Antre des Nymphes*, 1918.

³ H. Klaatsch: *Die Anfänge von Kunst und Religion in der Urmenschheit*, 1913, S. 36. Cf. on tree-burial Th. Preuss: *Die Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner und Nordostasiaten*, 1894, S. 308; W. H. R. Rivers: *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914, II, p. 266; R. Etheridge: *The Dendroglyphs or "Carved Trees" of New South Wales*. *Ethnological Series*, No. 3 (on carved trees in connection with burial); N. W. Thomas: "The Disposal of the Dead in Australia", *Folk-Lore*, XIX, p. 403; W. E. Roth: *Burial Customs, North Queensland*, *Ethnograph. Bull.* VII, p. 397 (The wide-spread custom of platform burial is probably developed from the tree grave; but this problem

came from trees and to trees they shall return".¹ After the heavy toils of life, man finds repose in a return to bygone times and if the living *Pithecanthropus* has been compelled by circumstances to change his habits the dead at least can indulge in the luxury of conservatism and hover like the coffin of Mohammed "between Heaven and Earth" on the tree-tops². According to the Arunta the dead go to an island which lies northwards and is called "country of the dead". Here they live chiefly on lizards, rats, birds' eggs, berries and roots.³ It is almost certain that the island in the north (New Guinea or a continent which has become submerged in the ocean) is really the country from where the Arunta came to their present hunting grounds in Central Australia, and if the dead return to a previous state of things in this case we may perhaps suppose that the agreement between the above mentioned diet and the food of our pithecoïd ancestors is not due to chance either.⁴ In New Guinea we have a more realistic survival of simian life: tree houses are used as strongholds in case of danger.⁵ In the initiation rites of men it is true that we do not

is too complicated to be discussed in a note). Other burial customs also present traces of a return to a previous state of existence: to a migratory condition of the tribe (canoe), to the home of the ancestors. Rivers: Melanesian Society, II, p. 270; W. J. Perry: "The Orientation of the Dead in Indonesia." *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1914. A similar explanation may, in conjunction with what we have said above on the part played by caves in the history of humanity, help us to understand the practice of cave-burial as well as the Sleeping Hero in the hill. For cave-burial see Preuss: *Begräbnisarten*, 1894, p. 171; Perry: *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, 1918, pp. 22-5; W. H. R. Rivers: *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914, II, pp. 271, 286. Myths which connect the origin of mankind with trees are very frequent; Cf. Mannhardt: *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1904, I, II; Frobenius: *Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, 1904; P. W. Schmidt: "Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker *Denkschriften*", *der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Bd. LIII, 1910. "Fictions yet truths; for caverns and hollow trees were in fact the houses and temples of our first parents." (Brinton: *Myths of the New World*, 1905, p. 265.)

¹ W. J. Perry: *Myths of Origin and the Home of the Dead in Indonesia. Folk-Lore*, 1915, p. 145.

² Cf. J. G. Frazer: *Balder the Beautiful*, 1913, I, p. 1. "Between Heaven and Earth."

³ Strehlow und Leonhardi: *Die Aranda- und Loritjastämme in Zentral-Australien*. Veröff. aus dem Städtischen Völker-Museum, 1907, I, S. 15.

⁴ Large mammals are conspicuous by their absence in both cases.

⁵ Ch. Keysser: *Aus dem Leben der Kaileute*; Neuhauss: *Deutsch-Neu-Guinea*, III, 1911, S. 12, 26; Seligmann: *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, p. 44.

find the whole person perched on a tree, but we have a substitute for it in the tooth which is wedged into the bark of a young sapling. However here we come to the point we have to deal with. The tooth is either inserted into a tree with which a relation of sympathetic magic is, in this case, created, or given into the custody of the mother.¹ In dreams as well as in poetry we often find the tree as a symbol of the mother, and here we can trace the phylogenetic development of this symbol. *As the Pithecanthropus inhabited trees before he descended to the earth this descent is assimilated to the birth of the individual which is once more a repetition of the birth of the human race. The tree in which man lives before he is born is the maternal womb, and hence the substitution of the tree for the mother in unconscious symbolism is the breaking through of phylogenesis under the superstructure of ontogenesis.* And it is this interrelation between the history of the race (nation) and the individual which explains why primitive man is heedless of the category of time in his transformation-theories, for *ontogenesis is an extremely shortened repetition of phylogenesis in which an infinitely small section of time corresponds to a whole period of racial history* and myth deals with phylogenesis not in its original aspect but with its repetition in the life of the individual. The Seven Sleepers think they have gone to sleep only yesterday in their cave and when they awake the world is older by many a century: this is really a reversal of the womb-situation where the embryo passes through infinitely long periods of evolution in months which mean hardly a day in the history of the world.² Or, as Freud puts it, the category of time does not exist in the unconscious.

The next question we propose to deal with is the origin of certain concepts of space which belong to the common heritage of humanity. To be above somebody means to occupy a more favourable position in society. It is a privilege of the Patasiwa organisation—who seem to be the descendants of conquering races

¹ Róheim: Spiegelzauber, 1919, S. 11.

² On the myth of the Seven Sleepers see above. The idea of years appearing as so many days to somebody who has been absent with supernatural beings (in the rock-house of the cannibal) is also found in North America. F. Boas: *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, 1895, S. 87, 153, 192, 260, 292; S. T. Rand: *Legends of the Micmacs* 1891, p. 95.

—to occupy elevated seats whilst the Patalima sit on the ground.¹ Seats are reserved for the chiefs amongst the Karaya, commoners are satisfied with mats.² In Uganda during Mutesa's reign women were not allowed to sit on any raised seat.³ The Hungarians of the ninth century, Germanic tribes and Roman legions,⁴ the Turks of the Altai,⁵ the Mongols,⁶ and the Kirgiz nomads⁷ lift their rulers upon their shields or on a white rug above their heads when these rulers come into their dignity. In Irish tradition we have the "Stone of Destiny" which cried out to show that it was the rightful monarch who had ascended the stone.⁸ It is unnecessary to quote further parallels; *a king must have his throne*,⁹ and the nobleman occupies a "high" position in society. If we try to understand the origin of this universal attitude of mankind, which, as we shall see below, affects his primitive cosmological ideas, we shall not have to go very far to find an explanation. In the monuments of ancient Egypt and Babylon we regularly find social rank expressed by stature: the king is a giant, his generals are somewhat smaller and the common fry are veritable dwarfs.¹⁰ We must go back one step further in the evolution of society and we notice that *age determines social status. Age grades are the germs of social classes*,¹¹ the uninitiated, that is the children and the women, correspond to the people, the initiated men form the middle-class, and the old men are what we should call an

¹ W. J. Perry: The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia, 1918, p. 46.

² F. Krause: In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 1911, S. 199.

³ J. Roscoe: The Baganda: 1911, p. 408.

⁴ F. Mátyás: Történeti egyezések és tévedések (Historical parallels and mistakes) Akadémiai értesítő, 1896, p. 592.

⁵ W. Radloff: Die Alttürkischen Inschriften, 1898, S. 448.

⁶ Hammer-Purgstall: Geschichte der Ilchane, I, 1842, S. 49; P. Bergeron: Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans le XII., XIII., XIV. et XV. Siècles. 1735, Plan Carpin, Chap IX; D'Ohsson: Histoire des Mongols, 1834, II, p. 528.

⁷ W. Radloff: Aus Sibirien, 1893, I, S. 516.

⁸ Standish; H. O'Glady: Silva Gaedelica: A Collection of Tales in Irish, 1891, II, p. 264; E. S. Hartland: Ritual and Belief, 1914, p. 292.

⁹ Cf. Ed. Hahn: "Thronende Herrscher und hockende Völker", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1918, S. 216.

¹⁰ Cf. Delitzsch: Babel und Bibel; Mahler: Ókori Egyptom (Ancient Egypt), 1909, p. 339.

¹¹ Cf. Schurtz: Altersklassen und Männerbünde, 1902; H. Cunow: Die Verwandtschaftsorganisationen der Australneger, 1894; Webster: Primitive Secret Societies, 1908.

aristocracy. It is this state of society which has been termed "gerontocracy" by Sir J.G. Frazer and W.H.R. Rivers, and we do not doubt that *the privileges accorded to the old men are the survivals of an infantile mental attitude towards the father*.¹ For the child the father is a "great man" and he "looks up to him"; thus showing how these two metaphoric expressions must originally be interpreted in an absolutely literal sense. All those who stand above their fellows in society are "fathers", but fathers projected beyond the limits of the family circle into the wider sphere on another unit. It is from society that these same concepts radiate into space and call forth the concepts of a heaven and an underworld (Hell). All the words which in the languages of the American Indians express their most general ideas of the supernatural involve a transference of the conception of space, just as our idea of the supernatural refers to something which is above nature as the common order of things. "The transfer is no mere figure of speech but has its origin in the very texture of the human mind. The heavens, the upper regions, are in every religion the supposed abode of the divine. What is higher is always the stronger and nobler, a superior is one who is better than we are and therefore a chieftain in Algonkin is called *oghec-ma*, the higher one".² The Voguls call their chief deity "Our Father, Sky-Above".³ Californian tribes speak of the "Old Man" above.⁴ The supreme beings of the Yuchi are called the "Sun", "Old Man" and "He who makes Indians" just as it is

¹ Cf. J.G. Frazer: *Lectures on the Early History of Kinship*, 1905, 107; W.H.R. Rivers: *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914, II, p. 46. *Melanesian Gerontocracy*. The interpretation of gerontocracy which I give in the text is not in accordance with the views of Dr. Rivers on this subject. (He states his objections to theories which would connect gerontocracy with Atkinson's views on the origin of society, *loc. cit.* II, p. 69). Dr. Rivers explains the social rank of the old men as a consequence of the belief in their magical powers. However, I shall have opportunity to show that these magical powers are survivals of the infantile attitude which attributes a sort of omnipotency to the father; or, if we explain this belief from the subjective standpoint of the elders, we may say that in vindicating these powers to themselves they find a fictitious substitute for their waning physical powers. Fiction is a substitute for inhibited reality.

² D. G. Brinton: *Myths of the New World*, 1905, pp. 62, 63.

³ Munkácsi: *Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény* (Collection of Vogul Folklore). Vol. I, p. CCLXXXI.

⁴ H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races of the Pacific States*, III, p. 158.

the father who makes his children.¹ The Cora call the Sun "Our Father", and identify him with the Eagle who represents the firmament.² The Wotjobaluk speak of Bunjil as Mamingorak, that is, "Our Father", and say that he lives somewhere beyond the sky. Munganngaua, "Our Father", is the supreme being of the Kurnai and he is thought of as a Headman of the Sky country, the analogue of the Headman of the tribe on earth.³ If the superhuman power attributed to a being in heaven is explicable from the attitude of the child to a being whose power must appear to be altogether miraculous in his eyes, who is literally above him, and who, moreover created him in the physical sense of the word, this still does not explain the projection of ethical dualism, the idea of good and bad into the Above and the Below. After answering the question why we project our ideal of power into the space above us, there still remains the problem to solve why we have a Heaven and a Hell? Language refers to the ethical and intellectual functions of our psyche as the "higher" faculties of man, psychologists figuratively localise the less developed, archaic attitudes of our psyche in the *sub-conscious*, we say that we *debase* ourselves by certain actions that do not accord with our ethical standard. An orator who turns from intellect to the passions will be generally understood if he uses the phrase "*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*". It has recently been shown in an ingenious essay that the dire and eternal penalties to which the sinner subjects himself in the phantastic pictures of a mediaeval Hell are in reality repressed wish-fulfilments of a sexual nature, and that Hell itself is but one of the lower cavities of the body (vaginal or anal) which are closely connected with the animal functions.⁴ According to the

¹ F. G. Speck: Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Univ. Penns. Anthr. Publ. I, 1909, p. 102.

² K. Th. Preuss: Die Nayarit Expedition, 1912, S. XXIII.

³ A. W. Howitt: The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 1904, pp. 490, 491. For the discussion on these primitive supreme beings who are always more or less associated with the firmament and with the concept of fatherhood see A. Lang: The Making of Religion, 1909; P. W. Schmidt: Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, 1912; N. Soederblom: Das Werden des Gottesglaubens, 1916; K. Beth: Religion und Magie der Naturvölker, 1915; L. von Schoeder: Arische Religion, I, II, 1915/1916; K. Th. Preuss: Das geistige Leben der Naturvölker, 1915.

⁴ Groddeck: Wunscherfüllungen der irdischen und göttlichen Strafen, *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psychoanalyse*, VI, S. 216.

beliefs of the Arunta there is a huge cave deep in the earth which is full of "erintja" demons who sometimes visit the surface of the earth and do all the harm they can to mankind.¹ If we remember how evidently the concept of a cave is connected with that of childbirth in the "ertnatulunga" ideas of the Arunta, we shall perhaps not be on the wrong track if we extend the interpretation of the cave as the womb to this second cavity below the earth. It is from the unconscious depths of human nature that the demons, the representatives of the repressed libidinous impulses, rise to the surface where they often make havoc of the conscious personality of man. *Man is the measure of all things*, and it is in his own body that we must search for the origins of his conceptions of the universe. In India we find the idea of "microcosmos in macrocosmo" carried through just as systematically as in mediaeval Europe.² The head as the seat of intellect is thought to stand under the influence of the moon, the stomach corresponds to the sun, and so on.³ All myths are true, only we must know the way to read them.⁴ In this case we have again to do with the simple mechanism of reversal: it is not certain regions of the human body that are under the influence of cosmic regions, it is rather the organism of man which determines, not of course the real state of things in the universe, but man's ideas of the Above and the Below. *The erect stature of man contains the explanation of the "Heaven" above as well as the*

¹ Strehlow: Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien, 1907 I, S. 11. Cf. K. Eylmann: Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südastralien 1908, S. 185.

² Cf. P. Deussen; Sechzig Upanishads des Veda, 1905. XX. Anhang Upanishads des Oupnekhat I. Bark he soukt, S. 830. (The Universe created out of the body of Man.) For mediaeval ideas Cf. W. Schultz: Dokumente der Gnosis, 1910, S. 2; H. Silberer: Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik, 1914, S. 98, 113.

³ Schanz: "Zur Psychologie der Hindus", *Globus*, 1884, XLV, S. 200. "Die drei psychologischen Regionen im menschlichen Körper sind (1) agnimandala, die Feuerregion, das heißt der untere Teil des Unterleibes, in welchem das Feuer regieren soll (2) aditja-mandala, die Sonnenregion, das ist der Magen und das Herz, darin die Sonne ihren Sitz und besonderen Einfluß habe (3) chandra-mandala, die Mondregion, das ist der Kopf und die Schultern, worin der Mond regieren soll."

⁴ Cf. "The myth is a means of recording knowledge of the unconscious past". W.H.R. Rivers: *Dreams and primitive Culture*. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 26.

"Hell" below us, for the cranium the seat of the intellectual functions and the repressive forces is actually above the organs of reproduction. It is equally evident how the universal existence of the concept of a "Father Sky" and a "Mother Earth" as progenitors of mankind is conditioned by the fact that in cohabitation the male is normally above his female partner. This same fact reminds us of another general tendency of the primitive male; in the repression of the sex impulse he will turn away from woman and project his ideal into his fellow-males as duplicates of his own Ego.¹ Thus is society partly based upon the surplus energy which is drawn away from its original, direct-sexual function, and turned into new channels, and this is why we find that the Heavenly Father is sometimes brought into contrast to an Earth Mother who is regarded as the principle of evil.² And it is thus that, in the answer given by Faust to Mephistopheles regarding the obligations he is about to incur for the world which lies beyond this one, we find an endopsychic recognition of the relativity and the anthropic origin of our space concepts.

Das Drüben kann mich wenig kümmern;
Schlägst du erst diese Welt in Trümmern,
Die andre mag darnach entstehen.
Aus dieser Erde quillen meine Freuden,
Und diese Sonne scheint meinen Leiden;
Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,
Dann mag, was will und kann, geschehen.
Davon will ich nichts weiter hören,
Ob man auch künftig haßt und liebt,
Und ob es auch in jenen Sphären
Ein Oben oder Unten gibt.

Certainly not: for environment, space, above and below, as we conceive them, are naught but the gigantic shadows of our Self.

¹ Cf. Schurtz: Altersklassen und Männerbünde, 1902.

² E. B. Tylor: Primitive Culture 1903, II, 271; R. F. Johnston: Lion and Dragon in Northern China, 1910, 262.

THE CASTRATION COMPLEX¹

by

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I

In psycho-analytical literature the term "castration complex" implies a network of unconscious thoughts and strivings, in the centre of which is the idea of having been deprived, or the expectation of becoming deprived, of the external (male) genitals. This complex is a general one, probably universal, but the intensity of its effects varies.

Van Ophuijsen² would reserve the term castration complex for those cases in which the feeling that the genitals are damaged or imperfectly developed is associated with the feeling that this signifies a punishment for a sexual offence; and he comprises the whole group of ideas under the term "masculinity-complex" of women, of which the castration complex might be one manifestation.

In the following remarks I do not adopt this definition; my reason for this will be clear at the conclusion. I also consider as effects of the castration complex those cases in which the feeling of guilt is not perceived as such, but is projected on to the surroundings and contributes towards the intensification of the feeling of hate against them, and is expressed by a marked feeling of having been unjustly treated, together with that of embitterment. I adopt this view because it is necessary for my purpose to lay stress more on the agreements than on the differences between these groups of ideas. It is clear that the strivings which constitute this broader (original) idea of the castration complex are only one part of an ambivalent attitude; the other part of

¹ Read at the Sixth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, in The Hague, September 1920. Translated by Douglas Bryan.

² J. H. W. van Ophuijsen, "Beiträge zum Männlichkeitskomplex der Frau". *Internat. Zeitschr. für ärztl. Psychoanalyse*, 1917, Bd. IV, S. 241.

this attitude I also include in this discussion. Viewed in this way the castration wishes and fears can be classified under the following four types.

1. I am castrated (sexually deprived, slighted), I shall be castrated.

2. I will (wish to) receive a penis.

3. Another person is castrated, has to (will) be castrated.

4. Another person will receive a penis (has a penis).

The first three types are manifest as wishes, strivings or fears. The fourth type is principally expressed in the infantile theory of the "woman with a penis".¹

II

The castration complex is usually traced to a "threat of castration" on the part of one or other of the child's parents, in which cutting off the penis is threatened as a punishment for some offence, generally masturbation. We find the best description of this threat in Freud's "Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben"² (Analysis of the phobia of a boy five years old).

"When he was three and a half his mother caught him meddling with his penis. She threatened, 'If you do that I shall send for Dr. A., and he will cut off your wee-wee-maker. Then how will you make wee-wee?'"

"Hans: 'With my *Popo* (buttocks)'".

"He answered innocently enough, but for all that the 'castration complex' was formed. This complex has often to be in-

¹ That a woman has no penis though originally she possessed one occurs as an intermediate idea, which belongs to the third type. It is to be noted that the reverse theory occurs. I recall an anecdote related to me by Prof. Wertheim Salomonson fifteen years ago in the course of a conversation on the sexual factor in the neuroses: Little Elly was seated at table with the adults. Suddenly to her parents' horror she remarked, "Hermann (her little brother) has a little lump on his legs". "But it will go away", she added to their—and her own—relief. Whether this is only an anecdote or a fact, at any rate it proves the occurrence of this phantasy in the human mind. I should like to think it probable that such "compensatory" theories actually occur, but they cannot be distinguished in the large complex of the castration wishes.

² *Jahrbuch für psychoanalyt. und psychopathol. Forsch.*, 1909, Bd. I, S. 3.

ferred in the analysis of neurotics, while they strive most strongly against acknowledging it".

It occasionally happens that an event like that related by Freud is not consciously remembered in spite of the obvious existence of a "castration complex" and despite all analysis. I do not believe that the resistance is wholly responsible for this, but that in such cases the threat had been expressed in some other form, such as, "If you do that you will go mad", "Through that you may become very ill", "If you do that you will be severely punished", or as a simple prohibition. The question then remains why a threat of this kind is transformed into anxious expectation or fear of actual loss of the penis; for this undoubtedly occurs as shown in cases where the wording of the original threat is remembered and did not take the form of castration.

Some girls have the idea that, as a punishment, they have been deprived of a penis which they formerly possessed. In these cases there certainly had not been a direct threat of castration. We are here confronted with a problem, and I bring forward the four following considerations towards its solution.

A. In consequence of the talion expectation *any* threat will tend to be realised in the child's phantasy at the spot in connection with which he feels a sense of sin. And, as the threat is probably always uttered on account of genital manipulations, the expectation of punishment is localised to the genitals and hands.

B. It has to be borne in mind that the genitals have a certain measure of guilt attached to them very early, which is derived from the struggle regarding cleanliness; this being the first conflict between the child and its nurse. The transgression of the orders regarding cleanliness load the genital region with a primal guilt which remains fixed for life, and all future expectations of punishment are in the first instance attracted to this region.

C. The third factor does not apply to all cases, though I have come across some in which it has contributed to the metamorphosis of the atypical form of the castration threat into the typical one. In these cases a balanitis or a leucorrhoea has localised the anxiety of punishment.

D. The fourth reflection deals with an actual situation that occurs to every child. The present paper is devoted to consideration of it.

III

We have to remember that the castration complex has also a positive side, the content of which is that a penis is imagined in a part of the body where it does not exist. We have therefore to look for an infantile situation of universal occurrence in which a penis-like part of the body is taken from another person, given to the child as his own (a situation with which are associated pleasurable sensations), and then taken away from the child causing "pain" (*Unlust*). This situation can be none other than that of the child at the breast.

Before proceeding further I should like to mention some facts from the analysis of dreams which have given me the idea that the content of the castration thoughts is the withdrawal of the nipple.

Discretion compels me to mention only the following details from the first dream. The dreamer was a woman. *Primo*: All kinds of wishes from the castration complex; complaints at not having received a penis, instead of it only a "niggardly female organ", a "cypher", a "button-hole without a button"; scorn at the defective penis function in other people, or castration wishes directed on to me and on to the male members of the family. *Secundo*: Excremental-oral-erotic pictures; especially wishes to drink or to be allowed to drink urine. *Tertio*: Drinking from a woman's breast, whereby blood forms the transition between milk and urine. The symbolic equation would read: Urine = menstruation urine = blood = blood of the pelican with which it feeds its young = milk. The dreamer has an aversion to imitation jewellery; this, like her repugnance to the female breast, means that it is repugnant to her to possess nipples because they are false, that is to say, because they cannot become a proper penis¹, any more than the clitoris. There is also a second meaning: the female breast has disappointed her, it has not brought the proper gratification; this she therefore seeks in women, but is always again disappointed.

The dreamer often had preconscious phantasies of sucking at a penis; and many of her symptoms were based on the oral impregnation theory. Freud has several times pointed out that the

¹ Also not a proper breast nipple; she wanted a breast nipple *in the mouth*.

perversion of sucking at the penis has a very innocent and infantile prototype—the sucking at the breast. There exists behind the preconscious phantasy of sucking at the penis the unconscious one of sucking at the mother's breast, an unchanged infantile reminiscence, the pleasurable sensation of which demands endless repetition.

As far as I know it has not been pointed out how these conditions throw light on the castration complex. In our dreamer the same dream symbols represent both urine drinking and drinking from the breast. The unconscious picture of the nipple corresponds to the preconscious picture of the penis. The anamnesis gave sufficient proof of an oral-erotic-mammary ambivalent attitude behind the dream.

A symbolic representation of castration occurred in a second dream. This symbolic castration was carried out upon a Mrs. X. who was a cover-figure for the dreamer's mother. The castration was a revenge for lack of motherliness. The punishment is consummated "on the member, on the member with which you have most sinned". The castration (in the dream another symbolic act, representing the removal of the breasts) was a talion punishment for her being deprived of her mother's breasts through weaning.

I can give fuller details of a third dream because I was the dreamer.

Introduction: In May 1917 my beloved brother died. The dream occurred at a period when the pain of his loss had been softened by time, and had left a feeling of longing and yearning. During the day previous to the dream these latter feelings had prevailed without my having consciously thought much about him.

Dream: I was somewhere by the sea. A pair of storks were flying about and then flew off to the left; a smaller one was flying after them. I had a feeling of intense joy because a beautiful opportunity to observe birds of passage here presented itself. This joy increased when the small bird after flying backwards and forwards several times settled near me. I then saw it was an avocet (*recurvirostra avocetta*, Dutch = kluit); it was beautifully coloured though somewhat more pink than is usually the case. It came at my call and took food from my hand or my mouth. Then I held it under my left arm and took it with me, feeling exceedingly happy with the magnificent bird. Then I was at the entrance of a cheese-store, and to my great disappointment became aware that the bird had disappeared, and that in its place

I held a walking-stick. On a board were two small cheeses, one red, the other yellow.

Partial Interpretation: I may say at once that the *two storks by the sea* represented my parents. The sea formed their two beds pushed close together. The *small bird* stood for my dead brother; also my mother's breast, and the penis. I cannot express the beauty of the bird in the dream; however, the *avocet* really is a very beautiful bird. One of its peculiarities is that its beak is curved upwards; it is also long-legged, as my brother and I had been jokingly called. Its colour is white and black. I first had my attention drawn to this beautiful bird many years ago through an essay entitled "A Week in a Bird Paradise". In the same periodical there was another essay by Frederik van Eeden on the stonechat, also a black and white bird. The "bird with a decoy-tail" van Eeden has named it. I next thought of Boutens' fine poem on a swan from "Carmina" (carmine = pink). (The swan is also a bird of passage seen by the sea.) I had recently read this poem with deep emotion, and it brought to mind my brother. During the whole day previous to the dream there had been running in my head Lohengrin's Parting Song, in which this stanza occurs:

Then blissfully, by the Grail accompanied,
Returned the brother whom you thought dead.

This bliss (cf. also the Bird's Paradise) occurred also in the dream, namely, the solemn rapture when I was again united with the beautiful bird. I am obviously jealous of this blissfulness, because I have transferred it to myself in the dream. This delightful frame of mind recalls another scene from a work by van Eeden (Eden = Paradise) in which he describes the feelings of "Little John" who, after weary wandering, sees at last the infinite sea across the dunes. John was also my brother's name.

Birds of passage are birds which come back in the spring, they are only absent *for a while*. A similar idea of life is associated with the name van Eeden, namely, Paul van Eeden's motto, "It is just for a moment", and his book "Paul's Awakening", which is the author's expression of his profound grief over his son's death. "Death and Transfiguration" it might also have been called, like a part of one of the Wagnerian musical dramas¹.

¹ Footnote on reading the proof: This mistake has arisen through confusion with "Isoldes Liebestod" which has a similar meaning.

My brother was friendly with Paul van Eeden. Then I think of a poem written by my brother shortly before his death, entitled, "Hirépolis". "Hirépolis" is a word he had dreamed, and was meant to signify the "Egyptian sand-martin" (*Uferschwalbe*, literally, beach swallow). This word, Hirépolis, is a condensation of *Hirundo* (swallow—again a bird of passage) and *polis* (the last syllables of the name of Egyptian towns). It is an acrostic about a phthisical girl with kindly eyes; the initial letters form the word Hirépolis. The acrostic, literally translated, is as follows:

Halfway descended
 Into the depth of death
 Reachest thou with kind eyes
 E'er the last light fades away.
 Pleadest thou with me to come
 O'er the feast to which He invites thee.
 Last swallows of the eyes
 In the Nile Valley of death.
 So to die is not to my liking.

The idea of death is here thought of ambivalently; that is to say, as enticement to return to the womb of Mother Earth; the Nile Valley of death is mentioned, the Nile Valley where the first known history of mankind was enacted. The idea of death is also elaborated into the idea of re-birth (birds of passage, swallows). The idea of the *return of something lost* is well represented in the associations (Paul's awakening, birds of passage, the return of the lost brother as Lohengrin).

The *walking-stick* I borrow from another Wagnerian drama. It is Tannhäuser's magic wand which bursts into leaf. Paul is also my little son's first name. I had previously thought that the motive of the Lohengrin Saga was a castration idea: the losing the penis through guilt, with a prelude in which the "brother" is innocently lost. At that time the thought crossed my mind that this might mean the loss of the mother's nipple which returns as a penis (Lohengrin—Swan—Husband), the magic of which, nevertheless, would be broken if origin and name is investigated, that is to say, when it is established that the lost brother is really himself; so that the incest prohibition falls on him and he is recalled. In other words, love disappears when it becomes conscious as repetition.

The *cheese-store* at once reminded me on waking of butter-making and dairy-work. At its entrance I lost the beautiful bird, and in its place I had a walking-stick. This is another elaboration of the Lohengrin *motif*: engram-complexes from the suckling period form its original melody: faint memories of the joy of sucking at the mother's breast: the beautiful bird, somewhat more pink than the real avocet, that fed out of my mouth or my hand. If "or" is replaced by "and" one arrives at the situation of the sucking child who touches the breast, with mouth *and* little hands. The beautiful bird is not only my brother, but also my mother's breast. The entrance to the cheese-store represents a *booking-office*, this leads to distribution; it is a place where something is served out.

The feeling of disappointment over the loss of the beautiful bird at the entrance to the cheese-store is the reproduction of that first disappointment where the nipple turns out to be only a temporary possession of the ego, and disappears, leaving only the genitals and the thumb as a solace. Moreover, the Dutch name for the dream-bird "Kluit" (avocet) recalls a similar word that means testicle.

Why is the mother's breast represented as a cheese-store? "Adipocire" came as an association to *the two cheeses* on the board: they could represent the two round breasts. But why a cheese-store and not a dairy? Then suddenly there came to mind something my mother had often told me: the milk in her breasts had clotted and become cheese, according to the doctor's statement, and he had warded off a commencing mastitis by massage. The clotting ("klonteren", Dutch) again recalls the name of the bird. "Kluit" (Klumpen) is also a name for butter.

Black and white are the real colours of avocets. The associations to these colours are: the white breast and the dark areola, the ambivalence, white love and black hate. White and black are also the two colours of death. Death recalls Paul's awakening, and that other black and white bird the stone-chat, which Paul's father (F. van Eeden) has praised and described as the "bird with the decoy-tail". I find that associations to one dream element constantly lead me to a train of thought that had already occurred with another dream element, which expresses the tendency to do away with a separation, a tendency which had persisted during the work of interpretation in the morning. It also implies

a resistance against ideas connected with my own and another's death, the same trend of thought that was suppressed after "Adipocire", and also against another series of ideas not entirely separate from it, which deals with the theme of jealous impulses. My brother was a more gifted writer than myself. I had an extremely high opinion of his accomplishments in this respect, and when he gained that appreciation to which he was entitled I was as glad as though it had happened to me. At the same time I certainly do not reject self-esteem as a means to happiness, and when a benevolent colleague termed my small contributions to scientific work indigestible explosive bodies I could only partly agree with this, although I considered the criticism a just one. The repeated experience, that an idea to which I had in vain called attention in my contributions was later taken up and advanced by a colleague who had read it, could annoy me, and I was unable to suppress entirely this annoyance by a calm conviction acquired later that everybody has that experience, and that ideas generally spring up in many places simultaneously when the time is ripe for them. The fact that the associations so obstinately compare the two white-and-black birds with each other, and also thrust forward the works of F. v. Eeden (Paul v. Eeden's father), signifies that the other black-on-white "creations of the mind" which "Paul's" father (i. e. myself), has written, are also very beautiful; my avocet is as beautiful a bird as his Egyptian sand-martin. When writing there also occurs to me another work of v. E., called "The Brothers", which shows still further connections with the dream thoughts. Associations of rivalry lead to an amusing childhood scene similar to those depicted by van Looy in his "Jaapje", and which appears to justify my claims.

One of my brother's writings particularly occurs to me; he published it under a pseudonym which contained the names of two black-and-white birds (black and white—death colours).

I carry the beautiful bird *under my left arm*. This reminds me of Anne Boleyn who, according to tradition, had a supernumerary breast in this part of the body. Further associations lead to all kinds of memories from the nursery relating to right and left symbolism. From these associations another arises which refers to incestuous object erotism. The beautiful bird with the upturned beak is the penis. The cheese-store is the "mamma", this word means both breast and mother. At the entrance to the

cheese-store the bird is changed into a walking-stick. Finally, the cheese-store is my spare room where I concealed my hoarded cheese during the war.

spare room — only for a short time — thoughts about life and death
 cheese-store — going and coming back — my mother
 Mamma with clotted milk

For reasons that can be understood and in order not to distract the attention too much, I refrain from amplifying a number of trains of thought; the details that are important for this subject are sufficiently represented in what I have said to admit of conclusions. The dream portrays a part of my work of sorrow. It concerns the undoing of losses felt to be castration; at the same time the castration is carried through by the wish-capacity of the secondary meanings of its symbols which express the removal of rivals and the representation of incest.

I shall now restrict myself to the consideration of the oral-erotic significance of the castration complex.

The dream puts me back in the suckling period, that paradise where feelings exist and thoughts are scarcely known. The dream reflects the joy at possession of the source of life and the disappointment when my mother's mastitis made suckling difficult or impossible.

A second scene can be reconstructed; namely, my witnessing the way in which my little brother (two and a quarter years younger than myself) was suckled by my mother. This situation must have made a very great impression upon me, seeing that all its elements, my mother, her nipple, my little brother and myself, have become condensed into a unity, the elements of which can represent each other symbolically. (The beautiful bird symbolises all the elements that are lacking in me). In this powerful sensation the older feelings of disappointment are fused with that of jealousy when the new-comer receives what has been taken from me. At the same time I identify myself with him, and thus, through him, enjoy my lost happiness. When I lose my brother the dream phantasy seizes upon the same means of consolation which had healed my first great loss (viz. that of the nipple).

If I arrange the memories and wishes that form the content of this dream according to the three levels, conscious, precon-

scious, and unconscious, I find as conscious wishes my yearning for the sea and dunes where we spent our holidays when children, and the observation of birds of passage, etc. As preconscious I find trends of feelings of love and hate, life and death, death and sexuality, erotic wishes from all possible stages, envy and jealousy, and longing for justification, i. e. various expressions of the castration complex. Finally, as unconscious, incest phantasies, and the castration complex in its double meaning—namely, that of the penis which is lost through the incest phantasies (at the entrance of the cheese-store), and that of the mother's nipple which was taken from me. The latter is the older meaning and must be considered the primary one.

The connection between incest phantasies and the castration complex appears in this connection:

My penis disappears into my mother,

that is to say, my nipple (my mother's nipple in my mouth) is again lost in the "mamma".

IV

In order better to understand the importance of these connections it will be necessary to turn our attention to the nature of memory.

The engram depository consists of a number of associated engram complexes, each one of which is derived from a whole situation of being stimulated and forms its residue. Let us take as an example the situation of the child at the breast. In this situation occur feelings of pleasure, feelings of position and movement of the lips and tongue, the feelings awakened by the simultaneous touching movements of the little hands, etc., and these feelings later become separated in other combinations. The sum of these pleasure-traces forms an important part of the positive personality of the child at the breast, namely, its *sucking eroticism*, which later, in so far as it does not become active as such, will be distributed over its positive narcissism and the object-erotic mother eroticism.

The ego-impulse and the libido during sucking are active and are gratified in one and the same act, although theoretically they

can be differentiated in the same way as the energy of two horses that are together drawing a waggon.

The ego here coincides with the libidinous personality, that is to say, there is no doubt that the nipple in the mouth of the sucking child leaves behind engrams which by their later ecphoria give rise to something psychical, which, translated into the language of later life, would be something like: *the memory of having possessed a nipple-like organ*, and, moreover, a perfect one.

The question arises: How is it that the castration complex does not complain about the absence of the nipple in the child or man, but rather the absence of the penis in the woman; and why is this deficiency referred to the genitals and not to the mouth?

I do not venture to assert that the answer to these questions will be entirely satisfactory. However, we need not be discouraged if we are convinced that our hypothesis is a useful one; and that the apparent contradictions have to be attributed to the complexity of the subject.

In the first place the child will undoubtedly observe that people's mouths are almost all alike, and that their genitals vary. Any envy, from whatever source it may come, will be most easily directed towards the genitals.

A further cause of this envy may be the fact that girls can only feebly direct their stream of urine; but I do not consider this the main cause. It is the feeling of the loss of the nipple in the mouth zone that is displaced to the genital region in virtue of the difference of the genitals; perhaps also it is directed by a common third reason of a genital feeling during sucking, analogous to that during kissing.¹

Secondly it is doubtful whether feelings of loss do not actually continue to exist in the mouth. Hunger and appetite not only stand for intestinal sensations, but also for mouth sensations in the sense of the perception of the difference between the real actuality of the gratification of the mouth libido, and the infantile situation, the repetition of which is desired.²

In these mouth sensations we have to look for that part of the

¹ After being at the breast the infant generally empties its bladder: there are therefore connections.

² See Abraham: "Untersuchungen über die früheste prägenitale Entwicklungsstufe der Libido." *Internat. Zeitschr. f. ärztl. Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IV, S. 71.

quantity of libido set free by the withdrawal of the nipple, which remains after the displacement of its other part to the genitals as a contribution of oral-papillary erotism to the Oedipus complex, and, in another combination of positive and negative factors, to the castration complex. Real compensation and gratification is easily obtained for this feeling and its correlated impulses.

Mankind is divided into two large groups according to the nature of these compensations. The first group forms an association rather with the colour and form of the missing organ, and finds its consolation and gratification in *smoking*. The second group forms an association rather with the sensation of taste of the mother's milk and demands its repetition, which it obtains by *eating sweet things*.

The *sucking movement* which these two conditions repeat in their oral gratification becomes, finally, the almost exclusive gratification in tobacco chewers. That the nicotine only plays a secondary part is shown by the use of chewing gum.¹ Sweet eaters are not as a rule smokers. It cannot be chance that smokers are mostly found amongst the sex that has the least cause to displace its feeling of loss of an organ on to the genitals.

The mouth is supplied with a number of *accessories* the manifest object of which is to replace the parts that have been lost. The common derivation of the feeling of loss in the mouth and in the genitals from the withdrawal of the mother's nipple also explains an obscure symbolic association, namely, that of tooth-drawing and masturbation. The tooth extracting ecphoriates the old complex of sensations associated with the withdrawal of the nipple from the mouth. The same complex is also ecphoriated in masturbation. The castration occurs as a direct consequence of masturbation, really as a part of it.

To sum up: The feeling of the loss of an organ from the mouth in part remains, and finds real local gratification; sufficient motives exist for its partial displacement downwards.

The second of the two questions which stood in the way of our hypothesis is thereby settled. The first remains to be answered. How is it that there does not exist in men a counterpart of the castration complex that has for its content the loss of

¹ Of course these habits are only mentioned here with reference to their oral-erotic derivation: their analysis is not yet exhausted, and even the oral-erotic part has other *Imagines* than the nipple.

well-developed breasts or feelings of neglect on this basis? The answer is, that this difference does not exist at an earlier age, and it is only at that time that the experiences have such after-effects.

If we adopt von Uexküll's¹ idea and separate "outer world" from "environment", we can say that the child, and particularly the infant at the breast, has quite a different *outer world* from the adult, although the *environment* of the child and adults is the same.

Thereby I consider the objections raised are settled, and we can pass on to formulate our ideas regarding the influence which the sucking erotism must have had upon the formation of the castration complex.

I am firmly convinced that the wish phantasies of the unconscious are ultimately repetitions of real situations; these phantasies

¹ J. von Uexküll: *Umwelt und Innenwelt der Tiere*. Berlin 1909. *Idem*: *Biologische Weltanschauung*. München, 1913.

"For example, it is not the form of the chair, the cart, the horse, that the word expresses, but what it performs for us.

"The meaning of the object for our existence is in what it performs for us. It is this that the coach-builder has in his mind, the architect who designs the plan of the house, the butcher who kills the ox, the author who writes the book, and the watch-maker who makes the watch. Everything that surrounds us in the town has only sense and meaning through its relation to us human beings" (*Biologische Weltanschauung*, S. 78.)

"Thus it appears that in the midst of the daily increasing multitude of human productions thousands of people live who treat these things as the only reality.

"And yet we need only take a dog with us on our walk through the town in order to be taught differently. The dog hurries past the tailor's shop. The clothes have a meaning for him only after his master has worn them and bestowed on them the odour of his body; then they become important attributes in the dog's life. Our clocks and books do not represent particular objects to the dog. The unimportant confusion of colours and forms leaves it quite indifferent. Only the butcher's shop absorbs its whole interest. The smell of the raw flesh and cooked sausages stimulates its appetite, while the odour of putrifying fish produces the desire to roll itself in it.

"The curbstone, which we carelessly pass by, is quite as important to the dog as the butcher's shop, because every dog leaves behind on it its redolent visiting card. The dog runs up the stairs as it would run up any hill. The balustrade has no meaning to it. It uses only the upholstered chairs. It rests best in the place where the shadows of the trees do not disturb it. The flower bed only attracts its attention when a little mouse appears.

"Nobody would willingly assert that the dog had passed through the town in a manner similar to ourselves" (*ibid*, 79—80).

only appear peculiar and unconnected with reality through the difference between infantile and adult thought. Thus in a previous article I have specially singled out defaecation in the infant as that situation from which the later delusion of persecution is derived: the original persecutor is found in the *imago* (counter-world) of the engram complex, from which scybalum and nurse are later formed as separated thought contents.¹

In a similar manner I now particularly single out as the primitive castration the withdrawal of the mother's nipple from the infant who is not fully satisfied. The fact that this may happen at each nursing and is a constant fact at the weaning accounts for the universal occurrence of the castration complex.

V

I consider this fragment of infantile sexual theory just discussed sufficiently important to add a few more remarks to it. The mammary and papillary erotism, according to its character, belongs to Freud's earliest pregenital organisation stage of sexuality. It forms the object-erotic supplement of the mouth erotism and the commencing hand and smell erotism. Its relation to the castration complex is so important that it must be looked upon as its real root, and compared with it other sources recede into the background.

Freud three years ago in his work "Über Triebumsetzungen, insbesondere der Analerotik"² referred to defaecation (and micturition) as an extra-genital origin of the castration complex".³ On page 128 he writes: "Defaecation brings about in the child the first differentiation between a narcissistic and an object-loving attitude". On page 130: "Another part of the connection is far more clearly recognised in the man; it is established when the child's sexual investigation has discovered the absence of the penis in the woman. The penis is therewith looked upon as a part of the body that can be detached, analogous to excrement, which was

¹ *Internat. Zeitschrift f. Psychoanalyse*, Bd. V, S. 285.

² Freud: "Über Triebumsetzungen, insbesondere der Analerotik". *Internat. Zeitschrift f. Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IV, S. 125 et seq.

³ These factors are also represented in my material, although I have not called special attention to them.

the first part of the body the infant had to renounce. The old anal defiance thus enters into the constitution of the castration complex".

We now obtain a further contribution to this theme. The mother's nipple in the infant's mouth is certainly not less a part of its own body than its motion or its urine. The nipple, however, has rather to be compared with the penis, and it also resembles it in its relation to fluid. Besides the nipple, other parts of the body which were lost early have to be taken into consideration, —the stump of the umbilical cord, the motions, urine, and clothes. It may be postulated that their removal cooperates in the genesis of the castration complex. However, the nipple takes the leading part. The nipple has also to have a place assigned it in any other relations of the transposition of instincts.

VI

It is seen from the above considerations that the difference between breast and bottle feeding must also be of great significance in the development of the mind, irrespective of the chemical composition of the food. It is perhaps curious that psychologists have paid little attention to this subject; a good example of a negative delusion.

In the case of a child of seven who had a transitory compulsion to soil I found the primary motive for this in an abnormal process of weaning. The child had not been getting sufficient milk for some time, and so had to endure the trauma of the feeding-bottle; at first it thrived better until it reacted to a second feeding-bottle with violent opposition. The compulsion to wet appeared later, and subsequent to an occurrence that was repeated for a time almost every night. When the child's mother went to bed she was accustomed to take him up in order to let him pass water; he usually had such an erection that the stream would miss the chamber-pot. His mother did not like to see an erection in so small a child, and showed her displeasure by giving the refractory member a gentle tap. The child obtained the repetition of this erection complex in its compulsion to soil and especially to wet. I consider this process is an expression of the castration

complex.¹ However, the castration complex was not acquired on this occasion, but much earlier, i.e. at the transition from the first feeding-bottle which he accepted, to the second which was refused for unknown reasons (different smell?) and to which he reacted with anger and vomiting.

Every loss re-ecphorates all earlier losses back to the very first,—namely, the disintegration of sucking-erotism and of excremental desires. The most important contribution to the clinical phenomena of grief and melancholy (or mania) comes from the castration complex. When with an expression of contrition the melancholic admits that she will not eat “because she has eaten human beings, although she has not eaten them”, this is a partly correct reminiscence from the period at the breast, when she actually fed off her mother. If the censorship regresses to a lower level in melancholia and allows the ecphoria of the engram complexes of this period to pass without sufficient distortion, or if the over-charge of the remaining symbols in grief—also without regression—renders the work of censorship difficult, then these ecphorae are unable to find suitable words for their proper expression. Their cultural splitting up goes only a certain distance, and their end-products, foetal position of the body or attitudes approximating to this, early infantile methods of feeding, new editions of already surmounted attitudes of conflict, partly prevail, and partly also encounter and mingle with inhibitions that have not regressed so far, or are finally repulsed; but all this happens at the expense of psychic work which consumes all the individual's energy. In this the oral-erotism certainly plays the important rôle which Abraham (*l. c.*) has ascribed to it. Mankind has its cannibalistic stage not only phylogenetically; it is also repeated in the individual life of every human being who was fed at the mother's breast or the bottle.

In future all these things will have to be taken into consideration; the duration of the sucking, the abundance or the scarcity of the milk, the kind of feeding bottle, even the width of its

¹ That is to say: the disturbance which is occasioned in the genital development of its Œdipus complex through the prohibition from outside, furnishes libido quantities to the castration complex, which represents another arm of the mother-complex. His compulsive habit of upsetting things filled with liquids is a surrogate for the forbidden Œdipus-erection. The accent is transmitted from the erection to the spilling of liquids which accompanied it.

opening, all these are of importance and will find their place in the history of the mental illness. At this tender age the most trifling differences can have just as important a result on the mind as a microscopic amniotic thread, which cuts off a few cells from the germ, can have on the body.

VII

The infantile theory, the "woman with a penis", originates very simply from the situation of the infant at the breast. It is quite natural that the child whose first association with a woman is directly dependent upon her penis-like organ, the nipple, should retain a memory of this. It is the certainty and force of this memory that mainly support the belief in a penis in the woman. When the child learns later that a girl has not this organ, this knowledge is the first result of investigation which confuses the child and places before it the choice of disregarding either the memory, the observation, or the information. If the child is told the real facts, then on the basis of its experience it in all probability considers it a lie, and thus feels justified in accepting later explanations with suspicion. Another way to solve the problem is doubt; the mother's sex is doubted. With regard to girls the information is accepted, but a special position is assigned to the mother; she has, so to speak, no sex, only *she* remains "the woman with a penis".

VIII

Another important source of the mother-complex, therefore object-erotism, arises from the situation at the breast. If we ask how it is that such an important sphere of auto-erotism as the oral zone, which is at the same time one of the earliest discovered, occurs relatively infrequently in the history of patients, we may conclude that this probably results from the fact that its auto-erotic significance has become hidden through the object-erotic significance contained in the mother-complex. Every expression of object-erotic mother-erotism can at the same time contain auto-erotic sucking-erotism. The mamma can signify the mother as well as the breast.

IX

From somewhat scanty material, but on the basis of well-substantiated facts, I believe I can also find some connection in the situation at the breast with the origin of a very obscure perversion, —namely, sadism. If I adhere to my belief that every erotic phantasy is based on a real experience, then it is evident that the basis for cruelty is to be found in the beast of prey which mangles its victim and thus creates fixed paths between gratification through taking nourishment, and the expressions of the victim's pain, humiliation, and seizure. But what may be an explanation in the case of beasts of prey does not apply to human beings, and therefore we have to fall back upon our tendency of making heredity accountable for all that we do not know, of putting all guilt that we do not wish to bear on our parent's shoulders, and of calling archaic what we do not wish to call infantile.

Our working hypothesis, that a real basis is to be found in ontogenesis, helps us over this difficulty. We find the situation of the beast of prey in possession of its living victim roughly produced in the infant at the breast. If the mother during suckling has cracked nipples or pain due to other causes, then we have a real situation in which the child perceives expressions of pain in a person of whom he takes possession, and at the same time experiences most intense gratification. This genesis was actually confirmed in one case.

Several varieties of sadism can be brought into line with this mode of origin. The above situation fits very well the algolagnic form. If kissing originates from the erotic part of sucking, then sadistic pleasure in biting can arise from the same source. With regard to the compulsion to wet or besmear somebody, the amusement of many infants to slobber on the mother is to be considered in conjunction with the excremental factors.

Finally there is pleasure in striking. A more careful consideration of the sucking erotism shows that it can be divided into two large complexes, namely, that of the nipple in which the mouth zone of the infant finds gratification, and that of the mamma in connection with which the little hand of the infant forms the reciprocal zone. This latter complex, mamma—little hand, we again find in flagellation mania, which primarily finds its object in the nates, i. e. the new edition of those other

hemispheres, the mammae. Also beyond the true sadism there is a certain affinity between hand and buttocks. The application to this region seems a matter of course in every thrashing. Without underestimating the influence of the neighbouring anal zone I prefer to see in this affinity a reflection of the infant's love and pleasure-touching of its first and greatest source of life by means of its little hands.

I consider it an advantage that my hypothesis is capable of objective control, for cracked nipples are often well-remembered by mothers. The decision rests on the facts.

X

I might briefly allude to the possibility that in the repeated alternation between becoming one's own and not one's own, which occurs during lactation, there lies a prototype for the child and a path for the later psychic process of projection, just as it must also give rise to a displacement of narcissistic quantities in the mother.

To recapitulate: Besides the removal of excrement it is in the situation of being suckled that there lies a real basis for the wishes, strivings and dispositions that are comprised under the term castration complex. There is also the possibility that on the same basis is founded the infantile theory of the "woman with a penis", many symptoms of neurosis, details of incestuous object-erotism, particular forms of sadism, and that also the situation of being suckled plays a part in the origin of the mechanism of projection.

If I now ask whether the psycho-analytic therapy gains anything from all this, I am bound to confess that the discovery of less objectionable motives behind the sadistic-anal-erotic organisation, which succumb so much to repression, is fraught with the risk of not sufficiently removing these repressions. And since the therapy aims at the removal of repressions it will be more interested in the later elaboration of the papillary-oral-erotic quantities which succumb to repression after having experienced "displacement downwards". Nor is there any sense in creating a problem where it is not thrust upon us.

Because I maintain that the importance of the oral-erotic interpretation is not to be under-estimated I do not consider the analysis

should end there; although the deepest meaning of many symptoms is to be found in oral-erotism and this meaning lies farthest back in the ontogenesis, still these factors need not be the most deeply repressed ones.

The experience we made in the Dutch Society shows that in the normal human being who is perhaps a smoker or sweet-eater the oral-erotic interpretation finds sufficient resistances.

XI

The analysis of a few dreams was the starting-point of my views. These views have increased in ever-widening circles from this central point, like rings from a stone that is thrown into water. A final ring has yet to be described.

Von Uexküll's useful views have led me to this final idea, and particularly where he throws light on the influence of the "structural plan" on the outer and inner world of animals. "But even the statement that the varying individuals of a species are more or less adapted [to their surroundings is a pure invention. Every varying individual is different in correspondence with his altered structural plan, but at the same time is perfectly suited to his environment. The structural plan creates the outer world of the animal automatically and within broad limits" (*Umwelt und Innenwelt der Tiere*, S. 5). "It is not difficult to observe any given animal in its surroundings, but this does not solve the problem. The experimenter must endeavour to settle what part of these surroundings act upon the animal, and in what form. Our anthropocentric mode of consideration has more and more to recede, and that of the animal alone becomes the deciding factor. Thus everything disappears which we consider self-evident: the whole of nature, the earth, the heavens, the stars, indeed all objects that surround us, and there remain as world factors only those influences which, corresponding to its structural plan, exercise an influence on the animal. Their number and their homogeneity is determined by structural plan. If this connection of the structural plan with the external factors is carefully investigated, then a new world, totally different from our own, is created around every animal, its outer world.¹ The effects produced by factors of the outer world on

¹ Later renamed by v. Uexküll, "Merkwelt".

the nervous system have to be considered objectively just like the factors themselves. These effects are sifted and regulated by the structural plan; and together form the inner world of the animal" (*op. cit.*, p. 6.).

Von Uexküll considers the distinction between inner and external world as self-evident, but this is only permissible if the ego of the animal is represented as sharply limited from the beginning. The distinction between external and inner world is not at all self-evident if, as the author demands, one takes the standpoint of the animal; this distinction has rather an anthropocentric character. It is probable that in living beings this distinction is only gradually acquired,¹ and that in the beginning a period exists in which no distinction is made between ego and external world.

I have already indicated that it is the processes of sucking, defaecation and micturition (perhaps also undressing in human beings) which are the chief factors in bringing about this separation. On account of this the stage of primitive narcissism gives way to a life of pleasure divided into two parts—namely, narcissism and object-erotism; these two then carry out their evolution separately, although with reciprocal effects. The separation occurs gradually, and does not take place in the different erotogenic zones simultaneously.

Since the separation does not exist during the phase of primitive narcissism,² one cannot speak of an external and inner world; all that can be said is that engram complexes are imprinted, and that their ecphoria at the same time represents that which latter will be distinguished as ego and external world.

The infant at the breast at first does nothing else than suck, urinate and defaecate,—suck, urinate and defaecate. But it undoubtedly has—that is to say, according to its structural plan—sensations other than we should have in the same situation. When we drink out of a glass, the glass remains a glass, that is, a part of the external world, and our ego remains the same ego. But when the infant sucks, the nipple or dummy belongs to it and remains belonging to it, although it is clear to us that this is not so.

¹ See S. Ferenczi: "Introjektion und Übertragung", *Jahrb. d. Psa.*, 1909, Bd. I, S. 422—457; S. Ferenczi, "Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Introjektion", *Zentralblatt für Psa.*, 1912, Bd. II, S. 198—200.

² That is to say, if one puts oneself on the standpoint of the individual under consideration.

The impressions of the sense organs teach the infant to separate the engram complexes of this primitive ego into one part which answers to the wish for repetition, and into another part which is withdrawn from the tendency to repetition (Freud). The withdrawal of the nipple, defaecation, and micturition, especially supply material for these observations. Nipple, faeces, urine are the bridges from the ego to the comprehension of the external world.

Our primitive and auto-erotic ego is by preference a pleasure ego; the formation of the concept of the external world is associated with pain factors (*Unlustmomente*); and so from the very beginning the external world constitutes an enemy,¹ until the sense organs of distance, eye, ear, and nose, secondarily add pleasure which is withdrawn from the primitive ego's investment with pleasure. Thus our final pleasure-ego is a remnant—a remnant which owes its origin to the fact that something is removed from us of which the sense organs have taken possession, and which they have stamped with their seal and offer us as external world.

In all views of life one finds again the wish to undo the separation between ego and external world. One speaks of the necessary synthesis of macro- and micro-cosmos, of life in harmony with the infinite, of the feeling of being one with nature, and calls this the condition and essence of happiness.

This happiness that all mean to strive after, for which everyone yearns, is bound up with the primitive narcissism and auto-erotism. Sucking, defaecation and micturition are the kernels of this concept; but the nipple is the leader in this triumvirate, and thus it happens that the mamma as mother becomes the central concept of the external world, for whom the desire for reunion strives, while the nipple in the form of its later double, the penis, is perceived as the centre of one's own personality, and an injury to it is felt as a severe injury to the ego itself.

It is this separation in the primitive ego, the formation of the external world, which, properly speaking, is the primitive castration; and when I spoke of the withdrawal of the nipple as castration it is only another way of expressing the same thought.

¹ That is to say, ambivalency. Really it would be more correct to say the hostile thing is the external world. It is therefore so easy to draw back object-erotic quantities to a painful organ. The painful organ belongs as well to the external world through its pain, as it belongs to the ego through its remaining qualities. This may also contribute to the explanation of masochism. The primitive ego finds itself again in the pain-pleasure.

COMMUNICATIONS

A NEW POINT IN THE SYMBOLISM OF FLUTE PLAYING

by

ESTELLE MAUDE COLE, London.

It is quite an ordinary occurrence to be confronted in psycho-analysis with dreams in which the performance on a flute or other musical instrument is associated in the unconscious with the masturbatory act or with the passing of flatus. The flute, by reason of its shape, lends itself to identification with the phallus, and the resemblance approximates still more closely to the penis in the clarionet and whistle, where the mouthpiece would be represented by the head or glans penis. Recently I have come across some associations which do not show that they are connected with either masturbation or flatus, and thus present a new point in symbolism for consideration.

A man patient brought a dream that he was playing a flute.

1. The stimulus appeared to be that during the day preceding the dream night the patient was riding on a bus which traversed Trafalgar Square. The fountains in the middle of this thoroughfare attracted his attention, and he noticed that the water issued from a lion's mouth. This reminded him of the celebrated fountain in Brussels, which represents a little boy in the act of micturition.

2. The analysis of the manifest content showed that the patient has always been devoted to music. His present interest lies in the violin. At the age of six or seven years he had greatly admired an army bandsman who played the clarionet; this he had been allowed to examine and it caused great excitement. His early attempts at music had begun on a penny whistle. He had asked his father at different times for a silver whistle or a flute, but neither of these desires had been gratified!

3. The flute in the dream was black and cylindrical. The latent content showed that the flute reminded him of a black ebony walking stick with a coloured sphere on the top which belonged to his father. His father usually carried this stick on his walks in which the patient accompanied him (aged five or six). During these walks there were interruptions when his father met a friend and entered into conversation with him; the patient then amused himself by sucking the coloured sphere on the walking stick, and imagined it to be a fountain.

As a boy he had indulged in competitive games with his urinary stream, as to direction, distance and height. He had made various attempts to make the "best fountain", i. e. to direct the stream vertically. Further, he played a game of making a "crystal fountain". This, he explained, was a game in which his urinary stream was directed into his mouth; as it came from himself it was free from contamination, and therefore "pure as crystal". Urination into the mouths of his companions, and vice versa, was also an enjoyable game.

Further associations showed that "playing the flute" was concerned with air and wind, and made a noise as of "passing water", and a sound like whistling. There was a Dutch (Low) proverb "*Ik wil vleit*", the literal translation of which is "I want to whistle", i. e. to pass water. Cabmen whistled to their horses to make them pass water, and nurses whistle to babies for the same purpose.

Some later remarks from the patient showed that he displayed much curiosity regarding his father in the act of micturition, when on certain occasions they had taken walks together in the country, and he had noticed that his father's stream was much larger and more forceful than his own.

I think it will be agreed that these associations point to Urethral Erotism.

It is interesting to note in these associations the non-usage of the word "piss"—a vulgar term for micturition—which also has a whistling sound.¹

¹ At a meeting at which this note was read, Dr. Ernest Jones threw further light on this symbolism by showing a picture by the French artist, Félicien Rops, entitled "*Joujou*". In this a hermaphroditic figure (chiefly female) is seen playing on a flute in the shape of a large phallus, through which she blows bubbles in profusion, which appear to develop into innumerable worlds of all sizes, thus embodying the creative idea through the phallus by water and wind.

WORD-PLAY IN SYMPTOM-FORMATION

by

DOUGLAS BRYAN, London.

A patient during the course of psycho-analytic treatment had once or twice incidentally mentioned to me that at times he had pain in his knee. He told me that it first appeared about two years ago. He woke up one morning in bed and felt a severe pain in his knee which gradually subsided when he got about, but recurred if he walked far or took violent exercise. He had had various kinds of treatment for it, including massage, rest, electricity, and painting with iodine, etc., but he obtained no permanent relief. The condition of the knee now prevented him from carrying out certain activities, long walks, tennis, etc. When he first told me about the knee he volunteered the statement that he considered it a "psychical knee".

During some months of treatment the knee was only very occasionally mentioned, and then nothing of importance in relation to it was discovered.

One day he spontaneously remarked, "When I was thinking about my knee a day or two ago it reminded me of a prostitute". As I failed to see any connection, I asked him to continue. He said, "I was thinking of my poor knee, and as I said the words 'poor knee' to myself I pronounced the word 'poor' as 'por', thus; my *por* knee, and immediately it flashed into my mind, 'por knee', why that is the Greek for prostitute, *πορνή*".

In order to show the significance of this association I will mention that the patient has never had any sexual relations with women. He has a definite conscious desire to experience sexual relations, but is too inhibited to make any attempt. Further, the idea of intercourse with prostitutes is repugnant to him chiefly on moral grounds.

The pain in the knee seemed to indicate three things.

1. To have a prostitute. "I have a 'por' knee", *πορνή*. He fulfils the wish for sexual intercourse.

2. Punishment for the wish—pain in the knee.

3. The wish to be a prostitute himself. The poor (por) knee—himself—a prostitute.

All these three ideas have been substantiated by further analysis.

A NOTE ON THE SYMBOLIC USE OF FIGURES

by

OWEN BERKELEY-HILL, Ranchi, India.

The employment of figures as symbols by children and psychopaths has already received a great deal of attention, so that the subject has accumulated quite a small literature of its own.

The following case makes a contribution to the subject:

A patient of mine, an Anglo-Indian youth, aged 23, while undergoing psycho-analysis told me that the figure 2 appeared to him to be "exactly like a foetus in the uterus", so that whenever he saw the numeral 2 he always thought of a foetus. Also, whenever he *read* the figure 3 he "always saw it *horizontal*", in which position, he said, it always reminded him of a "woman's buttocks".

The case is an interesting one of obsessional neurosis concerned with a fear of pregnancy through homosexual coitus. One of the remarkable features of the case is that prior to the onset of an acute homosexual panic, which developed later into a catatonic dissociation, the patient had suffered for years from an intense Brontephorbia. At the beginning of the acute stage of his illness, the patient recollects the occurrence of a violent thunderstorm, and, during the height of the storm, he recollects standing out in the garden of the hospital, as he expressed it to me, "defying the lightning". From that moment he has never experienced any fear of thunderstorms.

COLLECTIVE REVIEWS

NORMAL PSYCHOLOGY¹

by

T. HERMANN, Budapest.

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APPENDIX

PSYCHOLOGY OF TESTIMONY

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*

A. CONSCIOUSNESS—EGO—PERSONALITY

Freud (8) dwells on the importance of the distinction, which he had already made in 'The Interpretation of Dreams', between *Consciousness* in the *descriptive* sense and in the *systematic* sense (the System Bw.). Under normal conditions this System Bw. controls the paths leading to Affection and Movement. It exercises a much firmer control over the latter than over the former, which indeed often escapes from the mastery of the Bw. Consciousness as a descriptive concept is a symptom and must not be confused with Consciousness in the systematic sense. The process of becoming conscious is no mere act of perception, but is probably conditioned by a 'over-charge' of psychic energy (*Überbesetzung*).

In virtue of its access to motor innervation the System Bw. is able to distinguish between 'inner' and 'outer'—a distinction that is essential in order to carry out the 'Test of Reality' (9). The ego, which lives at first in the phase of hallucinatory wish-fulfilment, is—by means of the Test of Reality—freed from this phase; the Test of Reality constitutes, like the Censorship, one of the great 'Institutions of the Ego'. In sleep, with the partial withdrawal of energy from all the systems which characterises this condition, the Test of Reality is abandoned; the sleeper turns himself away from the outer world. In the dream therefore the System Bw. receives its energy from within.

A further Institution of the Self consists of Conscience, to the consideration of which Freud is led by his analysis of Melancholia (10).

Tausk (33) considers more in detail the development of the Ego and reaches much the same conclusions as those arrived at earlier by Ferenczi. According to Tausk the formation of the Ego can begin only after the process of object-finding has commenced. In the development of the infantile mind there is a period in which

there exist for the child's intelligence no independent, isolated objects in the outer world, and in which all sense-stimuli are regarded as endogenous and immanent; this is the period of narcissistic Identification. Before the Ego can be formed, there must be drawn a boundary between the subjective and the objective. The desire to have secrets that are unknown to the parents is an important factor in the formation of this boundary. The most important rôle of all, however, in the development of the Ego is played by the Libido. Man comes into the world as an organic unity in which Libido and Ego are not yet separated; this is the stage of innate Narcissism. Starting from this undifferentiated condition, the Libido gradually attaches itself to the individual organs; these in turn, by means of an identification with one's own body, become fused into a whole, i. e. the 'Self' or 'Ego'.

Hollós (16), as the result of his experience with the formation of associations and the ability to remember these associations when formed, advances the theory that the degree of Self-Consciousness is closely related [to the relation between outer and inner perception; there is a certain optimum in this relationship in which Self-Consciousness is clearest, while with the increasing predominance of one or other kind of perception Self-Consciousness becomes obscured and finally disappears. During the process of continuous association there comes into play—in addition to inner and outer perception—a third phase of consciousness, the characteristic of which consists in the gradual separation of the pre-conscious elements from Self-Consciousness. In this way, during Self-Consciousness, there takes place, according to certain laws, a gradual enrichment of the Unconscious.

Loewenfeld—an unattached supporter of psycho-analysis—has written a work of a polemical nature, in which he endeavours to bring about the acceptance of the fundamental points of Freud's psychological theories (21). The identification of the 'psychic' with the 'conscious' is rejected as unjustifiable. 'Deep' and 'Superficial' Psychology must become reconciled by means of the concept of the Subconscious. Loewenfeld's Subconscious is, however, wider in scope than Freud's Unconscious. The association experiment is regarded as being not altogether free [from certain objections. While emphasising the inestimable services rendered by Freud and while bringing forward a great number of facts to support the hypothesis of unconscious psychic processes, Loewenfeld rejects

what he considers to be the exaggerated significance attached by Freud to sexual and infantile factors.

After consideration of these views of a friendly exponent of psycho-analysis, we may turn with interest to hear the words of an opponent, W. Stern (31, 32). Stern's system of 'Critical Personalism' starts from the cosmic antithesis of 'Person' and 'Thing'. By 'Person' he understands "an entity of such a kind that, in spite of its diversity of parts, it constitutes a whole possessing a nature and value peculiar to itself, and that despite its diversity of partial-functions possesses a co-ordinated and purposeful activity as a whole". The psychic is to be met in a portion of human personality only; this personality manifesting itself for the most part in a neutral territory, psycho-physical in nature. Both in the psychical and the physical it is possible to distinguish four divisions. The divisions of the former are: (1) psychical phenomena, (2) unconscious (or more correctly, super-conscious) acts, (3) the corresponding dispositions, (4) the Self. In the region of the physical Stern distinguishes: (1) physical phenomena, (2) tendencies towards a definite goal, (3) dispositions, (4) the organism.

The Organism and the Self meet as (neutral) psycho-physical realities in the comprehensive concept of the 'Real Personality'. There exist both a real and an ideal personality. The former actually appears in our experience and exhibits the phenomena of 'Convergence' i. e. the conjunction of inner and outer factors in the process of adaptation to reality. The ideal personality exists only as an imaginary construction; it possesses no consciousness, since consciousness is a product of a process of Convergence connected with a conflict. Conflicts arise when novel situations are encountered, when different interests make incompatible demands upon behaviour, and as the result of a struggle between the time factors—present, past and future.

Consciousness itself only gives a distorted impression of objects. It is especially in this connection that reference is made to psycho-analysis, 'which displaces the true essence of personality to the Unconscious and ascribes a symbolic value only to the Conscious'. In order to understand conscious experience, we must, says Stern, realise its symbolic relations to the aims of the personality. Conscious motivations are misleading; the process of Convergence brings about an 'Introception' of aims, as a result of which we meet with falsifying factors even in a 'self-consciousness that is in accordance

with the standards of the Ego' (*ichgemäßes Selbstbewußtsein*). For Stern therefore the number of falsifying factors is larger than that recognised by psycho-analysis, which is concerned only with those kinds of self-consciousness which produce a high degree of distortion (neurotics). Would that all our opponents could learn as much from psycho-analysis and would acknowledge too, as Stern has done, from what source they have learnt!

There are however certain aspects of psycho-analytic theory which Stern also has failed to understand or to appreciate.

B. META-PSYCHOLOGY AND THE THEORY OF AFFECT

Descriptive Psychology needs to be supplemented by Explanatory Psychology, which latter, according to Freud (8), may be called Meta-Psychology and which has as its task: (1) to determine the sources of conative energy involved in psychic processes (the *dynamic* point of view); (2) to take account of psychic locality, i. e. to indicate the systems in which or between which any process takes place (the *topographical* point of view); (3) to study the history of definite quantities of energy, the so-called 'charges' (the *economic* point of view). In principle, Meta-Psychology is allied to the Psychology of Act (as distinguished from Content), in so far as in both cases the essential psychic elements studied are processes or performances. Thus in Meta-Psychology ideas are considered as charges manifested in memory traces, while affects and feelings are regarded as processes of discharge.

One of the most important concepts of Meta-Psychology is that of instinct (*Trieb*) (7). Instinct is a border-concept which refers both to the physical and the psychical; it is a psychical stimulus, which comes from within the organism itself. The current psycho-analytical distinction between ego-instincts and sexual instincts is not a necessary presupposition; it has however up to the present been justified as a useful working hypothesis.

What is the connection between love and instinct? Love is no partial sexual-instinct. It would be more justifiable to regard it as a manifestation of the whole of the sexual tendencies. If we treat it in this way, however, it becomes impossible to understand its material opposite—hate. Love has three possible opposites—to hate, to be loved and to be indifferent. Now psychic life as a whole also manifests three polarities: (1) subject-object (self and outer

world), (2) pleasure-'pain', (3) activity-passivity. These three may be regarded as real, economic and biological polarities respectively. The pair of opposites 'love-indifference' corresponds to the real polarity, while 'to love-to be loved' corresponds to the biological polarity. The real self which has originally come into being as a result of objective criteria, is converted into a pleasure self through a process of projecting on to the outer world everything which gives rise to 'pain'. As a result of these considerations we may regard *love* as the *relation of the self to its sources of pleasure*.

Hate is originally the relation of the Self to the strange and stimulus-producing outer world. Here then love-hate corresponds to the polarity pleasure-'pain'.

The word 'love' as it is used to-day tends to be employed specially in connection with sexual objects in the narrower sense or with objects which owe their pleasure-giving character to a process of sublimation. The use of the word 'hate' has undergone no such limitation, the original hate relationship being connected rather with the struggle for self-preservation. It is only with the establishment of the genital organisation that love and hate begin to transcend the polarity pleasure-'pain'. The ambivalent nature of love is due therefore only in part to actually existing conflicts between the Ego and the love-interests; in part it is due also to the evolutionary history of love and hate.

Scheler (28) is concerned with the psychology of love from the phenomenological standpoint. Love is essentially a movement in the direction of 'an increase of value'. Love is creative, hate on the contrary destructive, since it destroys higher values. Love too is elementary and is not reducible to any other mental state, e. g. sympathy.

Among the naturalistic theories of love which—from this phenomenological point of view—are regarded as unsatisfactory, is mentioned the ontogenetic theory of Freud. This theory presupposes the correctness of certain English ethical doctrines, according to which it is not love that is primary but sympathy. The naturalistic theories are blind to the existence of 'spiritual' and 'sacred' love; love of this latter kind cannot be explained on purely biological grounds. The relation between love and instinct may be indicated by the words 'limitation' and 'selection'. Instinct limits the field within which love can develop; but it is incorrect to say that instinct produces love. The assumption of a transference of

love—in Feuerbach's sense—is superfluous, since it is of the essence of love to aim at 'something higher', whether this 'something higher' be present to consciousness or not.

"To undertake, as Freud has done, an ontogeny of the sympathetic feelings and of love is without doubt in itself extremely valuable". Of importance from the point of view of principle is the assumption of psycho-analysis that every experience has a local value (*Stellenwert*) in typical human development. An experience in childhood may have different results from those which would follow the same experience in later years, not only because the traces of previous experience which it meets in the two cases are markedly different, but also because of its local value; it is this value that decides which experiences shall be favoured as regards future influence and which shall be inhibited or cut off from such influence.

Scheler also finds a lack of clearness in some parts of Freudian theory, as in the distinction between libido and sexual impulse; the concept of libido appears to have lost its qualitative content. The facts themselves seem only to warrant the conclusion that the heterosexual stage (with the idea of a definite object of the opposite sex) is preceded by another stage in which the same instinctive impulses are directed, not to some definite object of the opposite sex, but to a mere difference of sex in itself. The Freudian concept of the libido originates from an associationist idea of conation. There exist from the beginning various distinct qualities of love, which may become fused, but which cannot be reduced one to another. Freud is right however in regarding sexual love as the primary, fundamental factor in all other kinds of love, even in the love of life or of nature. But there exists no love of food that corresponds to sexual love (in the way that the nutritive instinct corresponds to the sexual instinct). [See Meta-Psychology above.] The theory of Sublimation also contains much truth, and errs only in refusing to recognise in the highest mental acts the operation of a certain independent quantity of energy. Reference is here made to the somewhat similar views held by J. J. Putnam.

Grüninger, in his Inaugural Dissertation (14), is concerned with the problem of the Displacement of Affect. He starts from psycho-analytic experiences, but, following Jung, he develops too much on 'energetic' lines. The most successful portion of his work is the chapter on the Theory of the Emotions, in which an attempt is

made to distinguish between the concepts 'Feeling'—as original psychic energy—'Emotion'—as an applied form of this energy—and 'Attention'—as a process that accompanies the emotions. Emotion itself is that part of mental process which has not kept pace with objective reality; it is an anachronism which calls up the past again. It seeks to perform something which should have been done in the past; its only enemy is logical thought. Perseveration, as a striking result of displaced affect, together with outer displacements of form and inner displacements of content, are all considered with special reference to complex indicators.

The path of displacement is the same as that of analogy; every affect that has lost its connection with the process of development endeavours—along this path—to regain its place in development. Analogies are thus treated as if they were essential similarities. Clinical examples and a short analysis of a passage from Schillers 'Wallenstein' facilitate the comprehension of this in some respects rather difficult work.

Weißfeld's article (34) contains some essential criticisms of Jung's libido theory. Emphasis is laid on the absence of quality and the independence of objects that characterise affect (will).

According to Reik (26), the discharge of affect results in a conscious increase of self-feelings, while the retention of affect results in an unconscious increase of Narcissism. Retention and accumulation of affect correspond to certain somatic processes of the sexual life.

Fankhauser's monograph (3) does not in reality contain so much original matter as appears at first to be the case. Affect is—according to this author (cf. e.g. Müller-Freienfels)—in psychological terms an attitude assumed by the Ego with regard to each idea that is presented; it includes already an intellectual judgement. On the physiological side affect is a production of nervous energy as the result of the activity of certain neuroses (cf. Breuer and Freud). Connected with the affective processes is the *production of certain chemical substances* in the brain (cf. Freud's idea of the chemistry of sexual processes). A latent affective condition is called by Fankhauser an affective attitude.

Joy-sorrow, suspicion-confidence, approval-disapproval are regarded as the elements of the affective life. These elements are supposed to exhibit characteristics similar to those of Hering's complementary colours; but as the facts of colour vision are incorrectly de-

scribed (e. g. the Purkinje phenomenon), these considerations are far from convincing.

C. PSYCHOLOGY OF THE THOUGHT-PROCESSES AND PSYCHO-ANALYTIC METHOD

Our juxtaposition of these two aspects of psychology—aspects which are at first sight so remote from one another—is justified by the treatment accorded to them by a number of writers of very different schools. Thus v. Karpinska (20) points out the fundamental similarity between the methods of introspection employed in psycho-analysis and in experimental psychology. In spite of this similarity, psycho-analysis can produce results of value only in the field of affection, not in that of pure intellect. In the concept of the 'wish' there has taken place—according to this author—an unjustifiable fusion of several categories of thought; the theory of wish-fulfilment is based on a presupposition without adequate theoretical foundation.

Furtmüller (12) draws a parallel between the method of thought psychology and that of Adler's individual psychology. The concept of the determining tendency elaborated by the experimental psychology of the thought processes must be employed outside its experimental setting and given a wider scope. It is the general tendencies, those which lie nearest to the personality, which are important and which we need to discover. The nature of these dominating tendencies can be inferred not only by a (more or less complete) process of introspection, but also, without resorting to experiment, by noting the first and last links in connected series of thoughts or actions.

The partial conformity between the methods of Freud and those of Külpe is recognised also by Schilder (29). The method of unconstrained association *may* (but need not necessarily) reveal the fundamental conative tendencies of the individual, because all the latent wishes and attitudes may co-operate in the work. In general, all psychic life can be understood only in connection with the life of the Ego as a whole. The direction of attention to any object depends not only on the object itself but on the whole previous history of the self.

In order to arrive at a psychology of knowledge Schilder undertakes an analysis of the process of knowing. Experimental investi-

gations have shown the ease with which ideas may overflow into the domain of perception. Perceptions do not always possess the character of objectivity; more especially in connection with the body of the percipient, perceptions of purely subjective—and therefore 'unreal'—character are often to be met. The quality of 'being real' gives quite a special character to an idea. All concept-formation rests in the last resort on an irrational foundation: it is the individual's 'will to live' and his need for adaptation to reality that find expression here. Affective attitudes produce sometimes symbolic ideas, sometimes symbolic hallucinations, sometimes 'desire-concepts' (*Begehrungs-begriffe*). Affective mechanisms come into play where cognition fails or where it is insufficiently developed.

Müller-Freienfels (23) regards it as one of the merits of Freud that he has sought to give weight once again to 'analysis' (i. e., here, introspection). Müller-Freienfels adopts a polemical attitude towards Associationist Psychology; his basic principle is that thought and phantasy are reactive phenomena, only feeling and motility being fundamental. 'Feeling' is here taken in a wide sense to include every adoption of an attitude. Even perception and attention are reduced to feeling. Thought is an act of selection and relation, judgements and concepts are actions. It must be noted that Müller-Freienfels' position is quite distinct from that of the psychoanalyst.

L. J. Martin (22) has devised a new experimental method for the investigation of subconscious thought: pictures and forms were exhibited to her subjects, who were then asked to produce a visual image of what they had seen. The image arising under these conditions proved to be powerfully influenced by imageless (and in the last resort subconscious) thought. This method, it is contended, is better suited for the study of subconscious thought than is that of psycho-analysis.

In view of its importance, Bleuler's work (2) must be considered in rather greater detail. In medicine a much larger part is played by autistic thinking than is absolutely necessary, i. e. the behaviour of the physician is controlled by instincts and affective factors. Even the admission that 'I do not know' demands an inhibition of affect. Physicians are in the habit of thinking carelessly and do not follow out the implications of their actions to their logical conclusion. To bring about an improvement in this

respect, medical men must accustom themselves to a new mode of thought, a mode of thought which corresponds more closely to reality and which demands the presence of conviction as regards the truth of its content: a new discipline of thought must be brought into play. It is not scientific thought which constitutes the opposite of ordinary thought with its mixture of autistic and realistic, of attentive and of negligent procedure; since the merchant, the industrial manager, etc., no less than the scientist, have to think in accordance with the strictest logic; scientific thought too, where it approaches new territory, is related to autistic thinking. 'Exact thought' also is only a relative concept. Exactness of thought is shown not so much by quantitative measurement and the production of figures as by the correct application of the laws of thought, the accurate observation of facts, the constant reference to reality, the avoidance of ambiguities, the stern realisation of all presuppositions that are employed; all this, in its totality, may be called disciplined thought.

Among the weapons of disciplined thought is to be reckoned probability, which should be an attribute of every judgement. In the case of facts newly discovered by science, it is not possible to determine probability in the mathematical sense, since not all the relevant facts and influences can be known. When confronted with new discoveries, disciplined thought must therefore operate with probability factors which do not admit of exact mathematical expression but which nevertheless permit of an evaluation of the importance of each item.

But is this disciplined thought really possible in psychology? Bleuler shows that there is here no difference in principle between psychology and exact natural science. Jasper's distinction between causal thought in natural science and understanding thought in psychology cannot be accepted without further discussion, since psychological motives are causal in exactly the same sense as are physical causes. Any apparent difference as regards causation in psychology is largely due to the fact that in this science it often happens that connections have to be studied within the limits of a single case.

But even a single case can be referred to previous experiences, as is actually done in psycho-analysis. Sympathetic insight into other minds, the similarity of mental process, the increased probability of a connection in the case of two events both of which

are rare, the proof that two events occurring in the same brain are spatially and temporally related—these are principles which permit of the investigation of causal connections in the psychic sphere. Such a knowledge of causal connections requires for its proof or for its refutation an understanding of the probability-factors involved. Bleuler here desires only to draw attention to the importance of an understanding of psychological probability. As an example of an investigation of the kind required, he takes Freud's analysis of the '*aliquis*' case. Here he finds that: (1) the forgetting of so ordinary and so colourless a word is—by itself—an extremely rare occurrence, (2) the splitting up of the forgotten word into *a* and *liquis* has again—in itself—an extremely low probability (perhaps 1 in 100,000), (3) of the succeeding ten associations nine have a distinct relationship to the 'period complex', (4) in addition to this we have to take into consideration the general fact of the repression of unpleasant complexes. Thus the evidence in favour of the proposed interpretation of the case is very strong; the probability-factors support the existence of the supposed causal connection.

D. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL PROCESS

INFLUENCE OF AFFECTIVE TONE

According to Federn (4), who follows a step further Freud's line of thought upon this subject, both the unconscious and consciousness work according to the pleasure-'pain' principle, while consciousness works also to some extent according to the reality-principle, which latter signifies a freeing of thought from the influence of affect. The reality-principle is intimately connected with the idea of time, and it produces associations in terms of causality rather than in terms of affect. The inhibition of the pleasure-'pain' principle is carried out by 'conscience' in the 'ethical stage', working through the agency of fear. The ability to endure 'pain' is a necessary condition which has to be fulfilled before the reality-principle can become effective.

The principle of adaptation to reality as *one* of the fundamental principles of thought is mentioned by various authors (Freud, Bleuler, Schilder). According to Pikler, however (24, 25), adaptation constitutes the one fundamental characteristic of all cognitive

process. Even sensation is no mere 'impression' of an outer stimulus. In the absence of stimuli, the activity of the waking state produces a 'sensory negation', i. e. a sensory judgement to the effect that there is silence, etc. When a stimulus is applied, the (inner) activity of the waking state changes from the previous condition to the new one occasioned by the presence of the stimulus. The sensation itself is due to this process of (inner) change. We have to assume the existence of a spontaneous waking instinct and a corresponding desire to be awake, i. e. a 'wakefulness'; this wakefulness seeks to prevent the physical effect of the stimulus within the organism by opposing to it a certain counter-tendency. Sensation corresponds to a counter-active and adaptive process on the part of the organism. Generalisation and abstraction are likewise processes of self-preservation and adaptation. Sleep also is an active process—in this case practice (practice in simple preservation of the Ego); being awake is a state of adapted sleep. Pikler's ideas show a certain parallelism to those of psycho-analysis; thus the idea of wakefulness keeping watch at the portals by which the stimuli enter and of being alert or strained at these points may perhaps be regarded as corresponding to the notion of 'charge'.

It is well known that about twenty years ago Ranschburg set up a new 'fundamental neuropsychic law' which was based on the fusion of the effects of simultaneous stimuli. Henning (15) now gives an experimental disproof of this law—a law which was used by its originator to oppose the Freudian explanations. Henning considers that the explanation of the fact that identical elements often exercise a disturbing influence on one another is to be found in the diminished reciprocity of the 'residual components' in these cases. Henning in his review on 'Applied Psychology' complains that Erisman in dealing with the subject of mistakes refers to Freud's theory and not to his (Henning's) theory of 'residual components'. Now it appears from Henning's protocols that his subjects experienced marked 'pain' when confronted with homologous series of stimuli (i. e. series containing identical members). This naturally inclines us to raise the question whether Ranschburg's principle is not reducible to the consequences of 'pain'.

The effect of 'pain' is also demonstrated, by the work of Spielrein (30), in the case of arithmetical operations. For reasons connected with the actual process of calculation itself certain figures acquire an unpleasant feeling tone, which manifests itself

in an increased difficulty in performing all operations in which these figures are involved. This is the case with the 'high figures' (6—9) and also with 3 and 7. It is these figures also which present the greatest difficulties in learning arithmetical tables. Spielrein maintains to have demonstrated the unpleasant feeling tone attaching to these figures by Jung's reaction method and by the method of continuously writing down single place figures (Freud's continuous association).

In general it has been denied that 'pain' exercises any compelling motive power. Rose however (27), by means of very thoroughgoing experiments with Störing's dynamograph finds that sensory 'pain'—i. e. 'pain' which the subject does not ascribe to himself but to his sensations—produces an increase of motor effect (as compared with the result of indifferent stimuli).

E. INDIVIDUAL PSYCHIC FUNCTIONS AND STRUCTURES

Freud (11) supplements our views with regard to the all important function of repression by introducing the concept of 'being overcome' (*Überwundensein*). In this process there takes place, not a dissociation of affect from the content of thought, but a cessation of belief in the reality of the content. Civilised man has not repressed the more primitive animistic convictions of humanity but has overcome them; these convictions may reappear in the experience of the mysterious or the 'uncanny', "an experience which comes about when some impression reanimates an infantile repressed complex or when primitive 'overcome' convictions appear to be confirmed".

According to Ferenczi (5, 6) there is utilised in the concentration of attention a portion of the energy which is otherwise engaged in the process of repression—a view which is in harmony with Freud's concept of displaceable, qualitatively undifferentiated 'charges' (*Besetzungsenergien*). By way of supplement to this 'economic' description, we must look upon the act of attention from the dynamic point of view as an inhibition of all processes other than those particular ones which are primarily concerned in the act. Acts of thought and attention run parallel with motor innervations, standing in a relationship of quantitative and reciprocal dependence to these latter. Nevertheless the manner in which

energy changes from one form to the other is not quite simple and straightforward; processes of some complexity being involved in the transition.

The subject of symbolism is treated by Ernest Jones in a thoroughgoing manner (17). To obtain a sure foundation for the theory of symbolism he enumerates the principal characteristics of symbols, which are: (1) the symbol stands in the place of some other more important idea, (2) there exists some common element in both ideas, (3) the symbol itself is concrete and sensory in nature, while the represented idea is relatively abstract, (4) the symbolic method of expression is a primitive mode of thought, (5) symbols arise as a result of a process that is unconscious, spontaneous and automatic (as in the case of wit). In contradistinction to the views of certain others (e. g. Jung) Ernest Jones is of opinion that symbols originate *de novo* in each individual and are not transmitted directly by inheritance; the fundamental human interests remain for ever unchanged, and it is the permanent nature of these interests that accounts for the constant recurrence of the same symbolic forms. The psychological basis of symbolism is to be found in the process of identification. This process is not due to intellectual failure; it is explicable as a result of the direction of interest, and is a consequence of the operation of the pleasure-principle in all primitive thought and also of the demand made by the reality-principle that the new shall be adapted to the old (so that the unknown may acquire a meaning). Only what is repressed is expressed symbolically; the relation between the symbol and the idea it represents is therefore not reversible.

In the process of analogy there is to be found, according to Ferenczi (5), a pleasure connected with the acts of repetition and rediscovery, a pleasure which originates from the narcissistic elements of the Libido.

F. PSYCHOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION

Present-day medicine has—as Bleuler (1) shows in his detailed treatment of the matter—in dealing with man left out of account the most specifically human characteristic, the mind. Medical teaching is ‘psychophobic’ (A. Meyer), to the detriment of patient, physician and medical science.

There should be instituted a special course of medical psychology, to be attended by all students in their first terms of clinical work. In this course there should be treated, among other things: the psychological aspects of each clinical picture, the mechanisms of the psychic disorders, methods of psychotherapy with indications for the choice of suitable specialists in each given case, education, choice of career, division of labour and sexual life; in general the physician should become able to understand and to evaluate the psychological aspects of all questions of the day (e. g. in politics and law).

APPENDIX

PSYCHOLOGY OF TESTIMONY

Henning's aim (35) is to find a psychological substitute for the questioning of a witness or accused person in a court of law. This cannot be done by means of a single stimulus word and the resulting 'single' association; which must be replaced by a 'multiple' association aroused by at least two words given in rapid succession (at an interval of about 1 second), the process of 'Double Association'. Two words can be so chosen that they strike a given complex much more readily than a single word would do. 'Double Association' (with one stimulus word and one 'disturbing' word) should therefore be used in the investigation of complexes. With this new method the 'complex-indicators' are of the same nature as with 'single' association.

Rittershaus (37) gives a brief exposition and criticism of the psychology of testimony. The essence of this branch of the science consists in the investigation of complexes, that is the search for affectively-toned events by means of experimental methods. It is only a special case of this investigation when these affectively-toned events are hidden from the investigator. In this case a 'psychic exploratory puncture' must be employed. Freud's psychoanalysis must be regarded as a method of this kind. The results of the diagnosis thus reached have only symptomatic value which can only give us real evidence of objective fact through the concurrence of a number of different factors.

The method of visual exposition of the reaction words is to be condemned.

There is nothing within the sphere of mind—so argues Mezger (36) —that is devoid of meaning. But to reach this meaning it is often necessary to substitute the latent content for the manifest and conscious content. Thus the psychology of testimony has to discover those biological structures which are called complexes and which by their affective tone turn the will to their own purposes. Complexes of this kind which affect the evidence of the accused are: (1) the complex connected with the deed, (2) the 'will complex' (misrepresentation, lying), (3) Ego complexes connected with the whole previous life of the accused, (4) material complexes (*Sachkomplexe*) based on connections and associations between the relevant things and events, political, social, economic, religious, philosophic and ethical complexes and also sexuality. Frequent reference is made to Freud, but the reader is warned against exaggerations and further proof of Freud's conclusions is demanded.

MYSTICISM AND OCCULTISM

by

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17. *Idem*: Der sexuelle Anteil der Theologie der Mormonen. *Imago*. Bd. III, S. 197.
18. *Idem*: Zum Thema Religion und Sinnlichkeit. *Sex. Probl.* März 1914.
19. *Silberer, Herbert*: Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik. 1914.
20. *Idem*: Der Homunculus. *Imago*. Bd. III, S. 37.
21. *Idem*: Durch Tod zum Leben. 1915.

22. *Storfer, A. J.*: Marias jungträuliche Mutterschaft. 1914.

23. *Vorbrodt, S.*: Flournoy's Seherin von Gent und Religionspsychologie. 1914.

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Silberer's valuable work (19) combining as it does the analytic with methods of other kinds has been already mentioned in the previous Collective Review (*Jahrbuch der Psa.*, Bd. VI. S. 424). To what was then said we may perhaps add that the author's interesting attempt 'to bring the views of Vienna and Zurich into harmony' (S. 424), must be regarded as a failure. His endeavours, however, to bring about a complete synthesis of the analytic and other methods of consideration and to explore the problem of mysticism from all sides would seem to be wider in outlook, though they are possibly premature. In our opinion the way to such a synthesis which is assuredly among one of the most important tasks before science in the future will not be discovered with the means at present at our disposal, while it is dangerously easy seriously to underestimate the analytic contribution—that is to say not to give adequate importance to the operation and significance of repressed instinctive forces in proportion to other factors. In Silberer's treatise on mysticism the significance of the idea of sacrifice is especially emphasised and the anagogic (mystical) factor is in my opinion much overestimated. Riklin's excursus (14)—relating to the Christian mystery of the passion—explains the sacrifice simply as the renunciation of the animal element, original sin as moral principle directed retrogressively on the incest-motif and its symbolism, and sees in the religious mystery a current problem of vital importance which he desires to see implanted as an active principle of morality in the heart. The Jungian conception and interpretation of instinctive processes as expounded by Riklin has here found, with some approach to completeness so far as terminology goes, the 'contact' (perhaps secretly desired) with the ethical or religious formula. The symbol of death and rebirth traced by Silberer (21) from its original forms to its shapings in modern thought is recognised by this author as modelled on some comparatively unimportant moral conflict, as a representation of the change into something better a nearer approach to perfection. Silberer furthermore gives weight after the anagogic to the analytic standpoint. His studies of symbolism, owing to the distinction drawn between material and functional

symbolism, have had a far-reaching influence on Morel's views (9). For the Swiss investigators the idea of introversion has become still more significant, an idea Morel finds to be characteristic generally of all mystics. He distinguishes 'mystical introversion', a more special form of 'free introversion' as the purest and most impersonal of other mixed types. After a preface in which he brings in the views of Charcot, Janet, Bleuler, Freud and Jung in equal proportions, Morel goes on to enquire into the nature of introversion and its individual differentiations chiefly in relation to Pseudo-Dionysius, whose figurative language, visions, rites and metaphysical views he expounds, and also in relation to Bernhard of Clairvaux, Heinrich Seuse, Madame Guyon and other great personalities of mysticism. The central position which Morel ascribes to introversion—an axis on which all else revolves—has from the outset prevented us from gaining from his work the elucidations of the mental processes among mystics which we might expect from the application of psycho-analysis. How indeed should this be possible seeing that Morel is inclined only to allow value to the liturgy of the taking of monastic vows and of baptism as '*le drame tout entier de l'introversion qui se joue liturgiquement*'? His book nevertheless contains many remarkable and interesting contributions to the psychology of the mystics. Among these are to be reckoned for example: the appraisal of the importance of narcissism in their mental life; the distinction between the far-reaching regression of the male mystics and the less radical one displayed by the women, whose sexuality does not revert to an exclusive narcissism; and many pronouncements giving evidence of analytic penetration and interpretation, for example the reduction of the Trinity-Phantasies of Seuse to the effects of alternation between homosexuality and heterosexuality—and so on. In this respect, in spite of many weaknesses, Morel's book may undoubtedly be reckoned as a contribution of some value.

The fact that Morel recognises—though with certain restrictions—the part played by sexuality among the mystics may have brought down on him the severe censure voiced by Moser (10). This latter appeals to the teaching of Jung and Maeder as the spring from which true knowledge wells, and thinks that psycho-analysis will recognise introversion as the one and only path of access to the spiritual world, and will dissociate itself from the Freudian pansexuality.

The reproaches levelled at Morel by Moser, nullifying each other as they do by their mixture of scientific naïvety and exaggeration, cannot be brought against Riklin's article (15), though it deals with one of the great saints among the mystics. From the symbolic interpretation of a mosaic of Giacometti representing Francis of Assisi Riklin goes on to trace out the process of spiritualisation in the case of this saint. Special stress is laid on the point that the 'base' primordial forces become in the course of this process 'divine, astral, ethereal'. The edifying considerations involved in these remarks cannot obviate a feeling of disappointment on the part of the reader who has been looking forward to learning by means of what spiritual forces and by what psychic paths the ascetic and ecstatic was evolved from the swaggering soldier, and how the 'Poverello' came into being who preaches to the birds and yearns to live over again in himself the sufferings of Christ. Kielholz brings us nearer an understanding of a transformation of this kind, showing as he does that out of the almost unlettered cobbler comes the theosophical-mystical writer Jakob Boehme who feels himself to be the inspired prophet of God, and builds up a profoundly complicated system of thought. Three phases admit of being clearly distinguished in the pathological process in Boehme's case. The first of these is a phase of depression, characterised by self-reproach of a preponderatingly sexual kind, by apprehension of death, melancholy and fear: the second a transition phase, marked by complete absorption in the depths of individual being; and finally a phase of euphoria with visual sensations and a feeling of happiness, the erotic nature of which is beyond doubt. The peculiar mystical experience is the vision of the divine, the glimpse into the centre of Nature being the heart of the process. Kielholz explains the *centrum naturae* as a comprehensive projection into creation of Boehme's mental experiences, and as the portrayal of the sexual act in the universe. He admits that the work of the cobbler of Goerlitz is to be understood in a large measure as the sublimation of the infantile impulse to look, to which impulse he gives full weight as the principal factor in the urge towards knowledge characteristic of mysticism. The most important personifications and modifications adopted by Boehme of biblical and legendary events are recognised as conditioned psychically, the infantile and sexual factors having their due weight (the Virgin Wisdom as

the maternal element in the God-head, the unio mystica, the androgynous Adam, Christ, the language of nature, etc.). Kielholz's study, while it brings in pathological processes as parallels, does not omit to point out the positive features in the mysticism of Boehme and their significance for ecclesiastical and cultural history.

Margarete Peter, born in 1794, whose mystical frenzy had such disastrous consequences, is made the subject of a psychological analysis by Theodor Schroeder (16). From the analytic examination of the Virgin Birth myth by A. J. Storfer (22) and by Ernest Jones (7) we obtain numerous clues to the mysticism attaching to the Christian Madonna-cult. Both articles, and specially that by Ernest Jones, must be regarded as indispensable bases of any future investigation of this subject. Reik goes still further back in certain passages of his article on the Schofar, as he relies on the interpretations of the liturgy in the Kabbala. The same writer sees in the puberty rites and the entrance into the novitiate so clearly allied to the former the germ as it were of the mysteries of the ancient religions with which he draws out the comparison. In opposition to Silberer (21) he lays especial weight on the instinctive bases of these phenomena conditioned as they are by repressed tendencies.

We have found no occasion up to this point to expect revelations from the researches of spiritism, occultism and theosophy, which would cast another light on the psychic forces and laws indicated by psycho-analysis, or could force us to any modification of psycho-analytical assumptions. Various attempts, whether undertaken by spiritists, or by certain psychologists whose point of view is not far removed from the psycho-analytic, to supplement the theory of the operation of the deeper psychic forces by one of supernatural powers, have not stood the test of reality. The view put forward by Stekel and Petersen (11), as well as by other authors, of a telepathic function of dreams, of the existence of premonitions, etc., could not be shared by psycho-analysis, both because all objective proof is lacking, and because psycho-analysis itself finds in the effects, reactions and substitutions of repressed tendencies an adequate explanation for unusual phenomena of this kind. The most important advance in this direction, since Freud put forward in his 'Psychopathology of Everyday Life' the conception of a meta-psychology as a scientific postulate, is the theory of

the omnipotence of thought, which made possible a psycho-analytic explanation of superstition, animism and magic. His article on 'Das Unheimliche' (6) may be quoted as supplying the direct carrying on of the same line of thought: it demonstrates how many occult phenomena are revealed in the light of psycho-analysis to be natural if complicated psychic forms. Rank's monograph (12) 'Der Doppelgänger' should be mentioned here for the same reason. A case of 'sudden conviction' put forward by Dr. Demole for discussion (13) permitted of a complete analysis which was all that was necessary for the adequate explanation of the state of mind inducing a remarkably pleasing hallucination in all its detail. Furthermore various publications of serious investigators who cherish leanings to the occult attest the fact that they are beginning to make psycho-analysis the subject of intensive study. Professor Flournoy (3) makes use of Freud's explanations to elucidate many obscure connections, and Vorbrodt (23) emphasizes the value of psycho-analysis in research into the nature of religion. Dessoir too (2) is obliged to recognise its importance in the investigation of occult phenomena. Hans Freimark (4) approaches the psycho-analytic view in his psychological examination of the mediumistic art, and reports cases of connection between peculiar type of spiritist 'controls' and the sexuality of the mediums (5).

BOOK REVIEWS

COLLECTED PAPERS ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PHANTASY. By Constance E. Long, M.D. (Baillière, Tindall and Cox, London 1920. Pp. 228. Price 10s. 6d.)

In this volume eleven previously published papers are put together. They are well written, interesting to read, and present the author's points of view in a harmonious and satisfactory fashion. As is well known, Dr. Long is a thorough-going follower of Jung, and those who sympathise with his attitude towards psychology have the right to congratulate the author and themselves on this successful production.

Jung's views demand such extensive criticism that it is not possible to do them justice in a review of this particular volume. We note here throughout their characteristic tendency towards undermining the significance of the results so laboriously arrived at by means of psycho-analysis. Thus the concept of repression falls into the background, that of the intrapsychic censorship is dispensed with, that of libido is de-sexualised (and of course that of incest), determinism is held to be a principle of only partial validity in psychology, and imaginary moral and teleological attributes are ascribed to the unconscious, without any evidence being adduced in support of this. Dr. Long makes it fairly plain that the terms 'functional', 'hermeneutic', 'subjective', 'teleological', as used by the Jung school, are really superfluous synonyms for 'moral', and great stress is laid on this aspect of analytic psychology. "Moral instincts are as much an essential content of the unconscious mind as are the sexual instincts" (p. 78); "in no department of human activity can an ethical bearing be excluded" (p. 99). This naturally applies also to dreams, and has to supplement Freud's wish-fulfilment theory of these. From the numerous casuistic examples given it is clear that the mode of interpretation used bears little resemblance to the technique of psycho-analysis.

In these circumstances we must again protest against the misleading custom of appropriating the term psycho-analysis, which is a clearly enough defined one, to matters so remote from it and to methods and views in such sharp contradiction to its own. Nor can we regard Dr. Long's lame excuse that it is impossible to disentangle the two as at all valid. On the contrary, psycho-analysts have not the least difficulty in distinguishing the characteristics of their work from that which preceded psycho-analysis, to which Jung's is nothing but a reversion.

It is for Swiss colleagues, such as the members of the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society, to say what they think of the phrase 'Swiss school' or 'Zurich school' being applied to that of Jung alone, which they greatly outnumber numerically.

We would suggest, further, that in the next edition, Dr. Long justifies the imputation implied in her remark (p. vi) that "the Freudians are quietly incorporating in their writings some of the findings of the Swiss school", and corrects a misquotation from a passage of the reviewer (p. 129) where he is represented as saying the very opposite of what he actually wrote as to the exclusively sexual nature of the unconscious.

E. J.

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ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Isador H. Coriat, M.D. (Moffat, Yard and Co. 1921. Price \$ 400.)

It is nowhere stated what edition we are reading, but we gather from the fact that the only preface is that to the second edition, written in 1913, that this is merely a reprint of the 1913 edition; although it says on the outside paper cover that the volume has been entirely revised. With regard to the scientific value of the work, criticism is somewhat disarmed by a hint in the introduction and elsewhere that it is intended for the general reader only.

The subject matter is divided into two parts. Part I is entitled 'The Exploration of the Subconscious' and Part II—'The Diseases of the Subconscious'; so we are at once set a-wondering what Dr. Coriat means by the 'Subconscious'. In his opening sentence he tells us that it is sometimes called the 'unconscious'. He immediately fogs this clear pronouncement by telling us that it means an *inability* to reproduce the images of past experience and that the psychologist regards the subconscious as an independent *consciousness*; so the poor general reader does not obtain a particularly clear initial conception of the 'subconscious'. These notions are elaborated in a loosely written chapter: *inter alia*, Dr. Myers is reported to have said that "we are only conscious of a small part of our consciousness". Dr. Myers is not a psycho-analyst, but we find it hard to believe that he was ever guilty of such an Irishism.

The author then describes various methods of exploring the subconscious: automatic writing, crystal gazing, testing the emotions with the sphygmograph and galvanometer, word-association tests, the interpretation of dreams by Freudian and more superficial methods and hypnosis.

Part I concludes with what the author calls the 'Psycho-analysis of a case of Hysteria', but apparently psycho-analysis proper was never once

employed. The patient was subjected to 'Analysis through Hypnosis', 'Analysis by the (word) association method', pulse tracings and the 'synthetizing' of dissociated experience.

In Part II we are told that the 'Diseases of the Subconscious' are losses and illusions of memory, the splitting of a personality, hysteria, psychasthenia (in Janet's sense), neurasthenia, psycho-epileptic attacks and 'Colored Hearing': but surely these are disorders of consciousness, not of the subconscious. Assuming that Dr. Coriat means the 'unconscious' when he writes of the 'subconscious', the only states which might be regarded as 'diseases of the subconscious' would be repressed perversions; but we have failed to discover any reference either to repression or to the perversions in Dr. Coriat's: 'Abnormal Psychology'. In short, the book is out of date.

W. H. B. STODDART.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE. By James Drever, Lecturer on Psychology in the University of Edinburgh. (Methuen and Co., London, 1921. Pp. 164. Price 6s.)

The aim of this volume is to translate the problems and results of psychology into terms intelligible to the layman, and the author has succeeded admirably in carrying out his aim. The book is carefully and interestingly written and can be warmly recommended as perhaps the best and soundest manual to be put into the hand of a beginner in psychology or of a worker in other fields who wishes to acquire some acquaintance with the subject-matter of psychology and its possible application to the problems of actual everyday life.

Readers of this JOURNAL will naturally turn to the references on psycho-analysis. It is evident that the author's knowledge of this is relatively slight and derived only from reading, else he would have realised that psycho-analysis has much more to say about the other problems of psychology in its relation to life than would appear from perusal of this book. Still, Freud's views on repression, conflict, sublimation, the unconscious, and the theory of dreams are approvingly described and the following passages are worth quoting. Referring to intrapsychical conflict, the author writes (p. 40): "This ground has been very carefully worked over by Freud and his followers, and the psychologist, even while refusing to accept many of the Freudian theories and interpretations, may well acknowledge the debt psychology owes to Freud for the industry and perspicuity (*sic*) with which this obscure and yet highly important part of our complex nature has been explored, and made to yield up facts of the utmost significance for the

understanding of human conduct". The very clear account of Freud's theory of dreams is prefaced as follows (p. 139): "The analysis and interpretation of dreams has become an exceedingly important part of modern psychology. Surely no more interesting example can be found of the way in which the content of popular superstition in one generation may become the content of science in another. The new dream-book is the textbook of psychology. This is not the least significant of the results of the work of Freud. Attempts to analyse and interpret dreams in a scientific way were made long before Freud, but it was left to Freud to suggest and to employ a new method of analysis and interpretation, and this new method has revolutionized the whole psychological theory of dreams", Dream analysis is said to be of value, not only to the medical practitioner, but also to the clergyman, teacher and parent.

These are strange things to read in a book by an academic psychologist, or at least they would have been so a very few years ago. We see that no amount of opposition, ignoring and distortion can prevent the new truths from at last beginning to permeate.

There is an appendix of the hundred 'best books' in psychology for the general reader. Twenty-five of these are grouped as classic works. Of the rest, seven (by Brill, Freud [3], Lay, Pfister, and White) are by psycho-analysts, four others (by Hart, Rivers, Tansley, and Trotter) deal extensively with psycho-analysis in a positive sense, and three others (by Adler, Jung and Nicoll) deal with cognate topics. In the index the references to Freud are nearly twice as numerous as those to any other author. All signs of the times.

In conclusion, we may note that, as was perhaps to be expected in a book written north of the Tweed, the subject of sex—surely not an altogether unimportant part of the 'psychology of everyday life'—is dismissed in a single page.

E. J.

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MAN'S UNCONSCIOUS PASSION. By Wilfrid Lay, Ph. D. (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. Pp. 246. Price 10s. 6d.).

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND BEHAVIOUR. By André Tridon. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf; London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. Pp. 341. Price 12s. 6d.)

Both of these volumes seek to deal with the application of psycho-analytical theory, the first-mentioned to the specific problems of sex-passion and emotion in the human being, the second to various manifestations of human behaviour and their neurotic phases. One is glad to be able to say that, in spite of this similarity, there is much difference

between the two books. Mr. Wilfrid Lay has endeavoured to obtain some grasp of, and insight into, psycho-analytic theory and to present considered and coherent views: whereas, of 'Psychoanalysis and Behaviour' it is impossible to say other than that it presents the greatest confusion of ideas and a quite undigested mass of seemingly hastily-acquired material, set out in would-be popular form, the result of which can merely serve as a hindrance to genuine psycho-analytic study.

Man's Unconscious Passion. By Wilfrid Lay.

Just as in the author's first book, 'Man's Unconscious Conflict', we find in this volume some really interesting and useful lines of thought followed up. The main thesis dealt with, as indicated by the title, is the genesis and development of sexual impulses and emotions, and the relation between unconscious and consciousness in this respect. The author attempts to trace out with care, and sometimes with very telling illustration, the profound effect of the deep unconscious complexes in the relations of man and woman: the significance of such things as a 'split' in the love-impulses (so characteristic of modern life), of 'platonic' friendship and love, of prostitution, of Don Juanism, of family emotional relationships, and so forth. He has undoubtedly made use of Freudian theory to penetrate into the meaning of these very important matters, which assume a very different aspect from the new light shed by the discoveries concerning the unconscious, and has much to say which can be turned to use. Unfortunately the book is marred throughout by superficiality of treatment, and that very unscientific air so often found in American works on psychology—a curious familiar 'it's all quite simple' attitude, even when the author is declaring how profound his subject is. Far too sweeping generalizations are made, summed up from two or three facts, or some slight disquisition, and throughout there is a kind of ticketing, labelling, and neat disposing of profound matters. The language is curious: sometimes colloquial and familiar, sometimes grandiloquent and stagey. An example of the former is the following: "Figuratively speaking, the woman in the matrimonial roadster must be given time in which to sit comfortably, wrap herself well, dispose of necessary baggage and prepare her mind for the trip. But a large number of young husbands are speed friends and make a quick get-away themselves, while the wife still has her foot on the running-board." (p. 127). In direct contradiction to this slangy phraseology, we read as follows, on page 41: "If she (i. e. the kittenish woman) cannot be playful with her husband, because for example he has a frown 'set' in the concrete of his ossified soul, she lacks just that amount of emotional outlet in the very place where it ought to be let out", etc.

One cannot help feeling that if Mr. Lay would produce rather less (four volumes have appeared since 'Man's Unconscious Conflict', all

dealing with very large and complicated subjects), and would content himself with working out one problem or a few closely connected smaller themes, with more deliberation, something of more value and real utility might emerge.

In conclusion, it is difficult to refrain from marvelling at his optimism when we hear from him for example that "the modern feminist movement is a movement for insight in women" (p. 112), and still more, that "a new kind of marriage is possible in which, because of scientifically understood human mating there could be no thought on the man's part of dissatisfaction or of infidelity to the monogamic principle" etc.

Is Mr. Lay making 'science' a short cut to all his own personal inclinations and fantasies, one wonders?

Psychoanalysis and Behaviour. By André Tridon.

In this book we have seven chapters, the first five dealing with various aspects of human behaviour and its problems (such as, 'The Organism', 'Problems of Childhood', 'Sleep and Dreams', 'Problems of Sex'), the last two concerned with 'The Psychoanalytic Treatment' (Ch. VI) and 'The Four Schools of Psychoanalysis' (Ch. VII). Of the first five chapters it is needless to say much: what is of any value in them is to be found in other books on psycho-analysis which have the advantage of expressing themselves suitably: a very great deal of the matter contained in them is inaccurate, misleading, inappropriately presented, often revealing great misunderstanding of psycho-analytical principles. We get, for example, such absurdities as: "Psychoanalysis assumes that all human beings are born with probably the same average ability,¹ but that in the course of their bringing up some of that average ability has been handicapped by complexes", etc. (p. 113). "The Napoleon type and the Edison type are at the opposite poles, the first being highly negative, self-centred and destructive, the other highly positive, socially useful and constructive", etc. (p. 191). "When we set to work to watch our unconscious it is soon shorn of its harmful power", etc. (p. 214). "According to whether the majority of dreams refer to the past, the present, or the future they may reveal a regressive, a static, or a positive tendency", (p. 207). The last extract is from Chapter II, Section IV 'Self-Knowledge through Dream-Study' which fairly bristles with mistakes and misleading matter, perhaps explainable in part from a remark made at the beginning of the chapter (p. 201): "It is comparatively easy to know others". Mr. Tridon appears to extend this dictum to the knowing and understanding of theories and ideas; he would seem to find it so easy that he can dispense with studying them; at any rate his book bears little evidence of any real grasp of psycho-analysis.

¹ Reviewer's italics.

But the most remarkable matter is to be found in the seventh and last chapter, entitled 'The Four Schools of Psychoanalysis', in which the author expounds the views of—if psycho-analysts would like to try a guess at the four names which herein appear it is more than improbable that they will hit the mark. It will indeed be quite new to learn that "the four principle exponents of the science are Freud, Jung, Adler, Kempf". One is quite surprised that Mr. Tridon has thought fit to include Freud! But since he informs us that Freud's mode of thinking gives "the impression that the mental and the physical are two separate entities", it would seem that he really might have left him out, for obviously he is unable to realize the A. B. C. of that mode of thinking. May we further inform him that in the world of psycho-analytic investigation and thought, there are such honoured names as those of Dr. Ferenczi, Dr. Ernest Jones, Dr. Abraham, Dr. Putnam, which even the mere beginner would be ashamed to ignore. In short, this is a book which a reviewer must warn the student and beginner against in the strongest possible terms.

BARBARA LOW.

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THE AUTONOMIC FUNCTIONS AND THE PERSONALITY. By Dr. Edward J. Kempf. (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, 1920. Price \$ 200.)

We feel about this work that in England at any rate it will not get a fair hearing (or reading). This is due to the extremely unattractive and difficult style in which the book is written, and, as can be gathered from extracts made for other purposes below, it is a labour to wade through it and drag to light any contributions of value Dr. Kempf may have made.

The thesis of the book is to shew that "in higher organisms an affective system (autonomic) exists which created and uses the cerebro-spinal or projicient system as a means to keep in contact with the environment in order that the autonomic apparatus may fulfil its biological career" and that "whenever the autonomic or affective sensorimotor apparatus is disturbed or forced into a state of unrest, either through the necessities of metabolism, or endogenous stimuli, it compels the projicient sensorimotor apparatus to so adjust the receptors in the environment as to acquire stimuli having the capacity to produce adequate postural adjustments in the autonomic apparatus. In this manner, only, the disturbance of function may be neutralised. The constant tendency of the autonomic apparatus is to so organise the projicient apparatus into a means as to acquire a maximum of affective gratification with a minimum expenditure of energy or effort."

For this purpose Dr. Kempf has collected from various sources a mass of material bearing upon the relation between the "autonomic system" and the emotions, and endeavours to shew that afferent impulses, from the viscera in the autonomic system, are alone responsible for states of emotion; so that we feel pleasure at food from the afferent impulses from the salivary glands and stomach. Cannon's work on hunger and the stomach is that considered in detail. We see no mention of the paucity of afferent fibres in the autonomic nervous system.

It is sometimes difficult to decide quite what Dr. Kempf means by the term 'autonomic system'. Sometimes he uses it in the sense of Langley's autonomic nervous system, and at other times to include all the organs innervated by this system, although he often uses the term 'autonomic apparatus' in the latter sense. We take it it is in the above senses that the term 'autonomic' should be used. But he says (p. 2) "In the amoeba and the phagocyte, as free, perfect cells, one finds a complete autonomic apparatus, but only a temporary projicient apparatus in the pseudopodia." At other times he uses autonomic almost in the sense 'affective', as if any organ influenced by emotion must be squeezed into the term 'autonomic'. Thus (p. 9) he includes, among other structures under the term 'autonomic apparatus', "the liver for the elimination of waste products; the respiratory system for the intake and elimination of necessary gases; the unstriated parts of the skeletal muscle cells which maintain the postural tonus of the muscle."

If one includes enough in the term 'autonomic', of course one's thesis becomes easier to prove. With the question of the voluntary muscles we shall deal later. There is no evidence adduced, nor do we know of any, that the autonomic nervous system controls either the elimination of waste products by the liver or kidneys (other than those secondary to vascular changes), or the exchange of gases.

Dr. Kempf makes certain assumptions which are necessary to the truth of his theory; among these that the James-Lange theory of the emotions is true, about which there is legitimate difference of opinion, few psychologists in this country at any rate supporting it; that the autonomic nervous system is the primitive Nervous System; and that the tone of the voluntary muscles is dependent on the sympathetic nerve supply.

In the development of the vertebrate, the primitive neural tube gives rise both to the projicient and autonomic nervous systems and the one cannot be said to be developed before the other. Dr. Kempf seems to assume that the primitive ganglionated cord of invertebrates represents the autonomic nervous system only—but here the two systems are not separated; in many invertebrates this cord supplies specialised striated muscles.

The assumption regarding muscular tone continually recurs in his argument because of the importance he gives to postural tonus in determining the emotion experienced, and is essential in the theories he puts forward with regard to repression; but it is of doubtful validity.

A few nerve fibres in voluntary muscle are non-medullated. Some of these are branches of medullated nerve fibres, but some are undoubtedly from the sympathetic. The balance of evidence seems in favour of a few of these fibres ending beneath the sarcolemma of the muscle-fibres, while others supply the blood-vessels. But there is a complete lack of evidence that the sympathetic has any but the smallest effect on tone. The unilateral cutting of the sympathetic rami to the nerves supplying the tail of a cat results in a just perceptible curve towards the sound side, which disappears in the course of a few weeks in about the same time that the passive dilatation of the blood-vessels recovers. Similar results are obtained on cutting the sympathetic rami to the lumbar nerves of the frog—a just perceptible relaxation of the hind limb occurs on this side which recovers in a few weeks.

There is also evidence that decerebrate rigidity, from the study of which most of our knowledge of tone is derived, is usually not at all affected, though sometimes slightly so, on the side from which the sympathetic ganglia have been excised. The severing of the anterior roots to the hind limbs, leaving the sympathetic connection intact, completely abolishes decerebrate rigidity, if present, or prevents its onset.

Dr. Kempt says, "The explanation, that postural tonus of skeletal musculature is determined by the autonomic component is the only theory so far given that satisfactorily accounts for the effects of fear, rage and love upon postural tonus" and so he assumes it. This seems to us typical of his attitude of mind. A hypothesis would suit his theory and so he assumes its truth. The suggestions of others and the 'might be' are made the foundation of a top-heavy super-structure.

Dr. Kempt agrees that the visceral changes in different emotions appear to be the same. He suggests that they must be different in some unknown way, or alternatively that the visceral effects in anger and disgust are really due to fear; leaving unattempted the task of discovering the visceral postural tonus resulting in these latter emotions.

Sherrington's experiments on two dogs in which the spinal cord was severed in the lower cervical region and the vagi and sympathetic trunks cut, would seem to render Dr. Kempf's theory untenable. The sections were verified *post mortem*. The dogs' expression of fear, disgust, pleasure and anger were not dulled. The two readily observed visceral effects present in normal dogs of erection of the hairs and change in pulse rate were absent. In spite of these careful experiments, Dr. Kempf

says "It is not established that the operation completely separated the viscera from efferent and afferent influences with the brain..." A little farther on we see why. "... the dejected posture... of the spinal dog, disgusted by dog's flesh, suggests strongly that in some manner the unpleasant olfactory stimulus has free access to the autonomic system of his dog." It is difficult to see how, and the suggestion is only strong if one has already assumed the conclusion. In these dogs the only parts behind the shoulder left in nervous connection with the forepart were the diaphragm and upper parts of the trachea and oesophagus. Dr. Kempf suggests that the alteration in tension of the diaphragm and tension on the frame exerted by the head and neck muscles may have altered the visceral tone, but how could these alterations have exerted any influence on the head and face muscles which indicated the emotional state?

One ought not to leave this work without saying something about what many in America seem to regard as Kempf's great contribution—"the physiological explanation" of conflict, repression and fixation.

Fixation is viewed as a conditioned automatic reflex, but it is not explained why some of the many conditioned autonomic reflexes become important.

With regard to conflict and repression it seems to us that instead of explaining them, he has merely substituted his (almost certainly erroneous) nomenclature for the ordinary one. It would not seem an epoch-making pronouncement to say "The conflict of various affective cravings for expression leads to emotional states", but, translated into "The struggle of the various often antagonistic cravings (of the autonomic apparatus) for the possession of the final common path leads to conditions of tension in the viscera—(unstriated muscle) and of the voluntary muscle (unstriated component, sarcoplasmic substance). These states of tension produce conditions of heightened visceral tonicity and various forms of postural tonus"... White regards it as very illuminating.

Dr. Kempf defends himself in advance, as though feeling somewhat uncertain, against the charge of precocious theorising, which he feels the 'University Professors' will bring against him. He quotes two extracts from Charles Darwin in defence, relative to 'grouping facts' under 'general laws', again assuming that his material consists of facts.

The monograph contains a valuable collection of observations on the synchronism of affective states and modification in the autonomic apparatus, but on the whole we feel we must side with the University Professors.

C. R. A. THACKER.

FROM THE UNCONSCIOUS TO THE CONSCIOUS. By Gustave Geley. Translated from the French by Stanley de Brath. (William Collins, Sons and Co. Ltd. Pp. XXVIII + 328.)

The title of Dr. Geley's work may rouse expectations in the mind of a psycho-analyst which, if he reads the book, will not be realised. He will find here no mention of the Unconscious as he understands it, and no reference to the theory or practice of Psycho-Analysis. The standpoint of the author is indeed the opposite of the analytic one. His aim is synthetic; it is "the ideal quest of a wide philosophical generalisation, based on facts." On the conception of the Unconscious which he adopts he erects a metaphysical system, but he claims for his idealistic philosophy that it is scientific, that it rests on no *a priori* or intuitional formulae but is based on positive demonstration. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to a critical study of the classical theories relating to evolution, and of the principal evolutionary philosophies. The second part is the actual statement of Geley's own views.

His criticisms of naturalistic theories of evolution and of the psychophysiological concept of individuality may be read with interest and profit; but the reader will be surprised when he finds himself asked to regard as established facts of science those materialisations and dematerialisations of which he may have read in works dealing with spiritism. The author has evidently been much impressed by the manifestations observed by him at his many sittings with the well-known medium Eva, of whose phenomena Schrenk-Notzing has given a very full account.

Indeed, it may be supposed that one of the main objects of this book is to provide an hypothesis which will afford some solution of the problems of 'supernormal physiology.' The new concept, which Geley thinks removes all difficulties, is that of a "dynamo-psychism constituting the essence of the self, which absolutely cannot be referred to the functioning of the nervous centres. This essential dynamo-psychism is not conditioned by the organism; on the contrary everything happens as though the organism and the cerebral functions were conditioned it." The cellular complex of which the body consists is the ideo-plastic product of this dynamo-psychism, and the phenomenon of materialisation is but a special case of the same ideo-plastic activity.

This dynamo-psychism, which is essential in the individual and in the universe, is the 'Unconscious' of Geley's book. It has obvious resemblances to the Unconscious of Hartmann and to the Will of Schopenhauer. It contains within itself the potentialities of all being, and evolution consists in its transition from the Unconscious to the Conscious.

T. W. MITCHELL.

*

LA PSYCHOLOGIE FRANÇAISE CONTEMPORAINE. Par Georges Dwelshauvers. (Alcan, 1920.)

M. Dwelshauvers s'est fait connaître par la publication d'un livre sur la "synthèse mentale", paru chez Alcan en 1908. Depuis, il a publié chez Flammarion un ouvrage sur l'"Inconscient", qui intéresse plus directement les psychanalystes. Aujourd'hui, faisant suite aux ouvrages de Th. Ribot sur l'histoire de la psychologie allemande et anglaise, il nous présente un livre sur l'histoire de la psychologie française. Nous regrettons que M. D. n'ait pas consacré une plus grande partie de son livre à la psychologie scientifique contemporaine. On a de la peine, en effet, à se rendre compte d'après son ouvrage des derniers résultats auxquels sont arrivés les psychologues français. Ce livre ne nous apprend rien sur la façon dont les auteurs modernes considèrent les problèmes de la mémoire, de l'intelligence, des sentiments ou des instincts. M. D. se contente de nous décrire les idées directrices des divers systèmes de philosophie psychologique qui ont régné pendant le dix-neuvième siècle. Il tient, en effet, à ne pas rester dans le cadre d'une psychologie scientifique; il croit encore à la valeur de la métaphysique. Voici ce qu'il écrit: (introd. p. 9.)

"Il fut de mode, en effet, pendant un certain nombre d'années, d'opposer à l'école française des méthodes et des théories venues d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne. On louait les Anglais d'avoir construit une méthode de pure observation, imitée des sciences de la nature; on ventait les Allemands d'avoir substitué à l'étude de la conscience par elle-même un procédé objectif, et d'avoir soumis les faits psychologiques à l'expérimentation et à la mesure.

L'on en est revenu depuis, et l'on a reconnu que ni l'empirisme des uns, ni l'accumulation de chiffres des autres n'avaient fait progresser la science de l'esprit".

Nous regrettons encore que M. D. n'ait parlé que des auteurs français et n'ait pas rendu compte des ouvrages des Belges ou des Suisses parus en langue française. Son livre ne nous dit rien des travaux de M. Décroly sur la psychologie des enfants anormaux; il ne parle pas non plus des recherches d'Edouard Claparède et Pierre Bovet sur la psychologie de l'enfant; ni des recherches de Th. Flournoy sur les médiums. Même parmi les auteurs français, il est certaines lacunes incompréhensibles. Ainsi M. D. ne dit pas un mot des travaux du Dr. Toulouse sur la psychologie expérimentale ou sur la psychologie des savants. Il passe également sous silence les ouvrages de psychologie pathologique des Drs. Féré, Sollier, Rogues de Fursac, Logre, Devaux, Dupouy, etc. Malgré toutes ces lacunes le livre de M. D. reste un ouvrage intéressant et un chapitre d'histoire qu'il fallait écrire.

Les psychanalystes trouveront chez les auteurs français bien des précurseurs au sujet de tels ou tels points qui leur sont chers. C'est

ainsi que Maine de Biran souligne l'importance de l'étude des rêves et compare déjà l'intelligence des adultes avec les actes des enfants. Jouffroy insiste sur le symbolisme de certaines attitudes et de certains gestes. On pourrait faire un rapprochement intéressant entre ce qu'il appelle les associations symboliques et ce que Bleuler a nommé la pensée autistique. Avec Ribot, nous voyons naître l'importance de l'affectivité. Quant aux idées de Janet et de Bergson, elles nous rapprochent encore davantage des travaux de Freud.

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE.

*

LES PRINCIPES DE LA PSYCHOLOGIE DE LA RELIGION ET LA PSYCHOANALYSE. Leçon d'ouverture. Par Maurice Neeser. (Neuchâtel, 1920.)

M. Neeser se demande si les deux principes normatifs que Flournoy assigne à la psychologie de la religion sont respectés encore par la psychanalyse. Ces deux principes, on le sait, sont: L'exclusion de la transcendance et l'interprétation biologique des phénomènes dits religieux.

Et M. Neeser commence sa revue par Flournoy lui-même, et par son dernier ouvrage *Une mystique moderne*. Puis il discute l'ouvrage de M. Berguer *Quelques traits de la vie de Jésus au point de vue psychologique et psychanalytique*, Genève et Paris, 1920, celui de F. Morel, *L'introversion mystique*, Genève, 1918, et celui de M. Maeder, *Génération et évolution dans la vie de l'âme*, Rascher, 1918. Et à propos de chacun de ces auteurs M. Neeser se demande s'il s'en tient oui ou non aux deux principes directeurs formulés par Flournoy.

Pour ce qui est du premier de ces principes, celui de la réserve que le psychologue doit observer en ce qui concerne la transcendance, M. Neeser accuse les psychologues mentionnés d'outrepasser, à des degrés variés, il est vrai, la limite qu'ils se sont posée eux-mêmes. Par le fait qu'ils s'appliquent à saisir la genèse ou l'élaboration individuelle de l'idée ou de la représentation de la transcendance, ils sortent de leur réserve à l'endroit de cette transcendance elle-même. C'est un empiètement de la psychologie sur la métaphysique.

Quant au second de ces principes, M. Neeser classe ses auteurs selon que leur interprétation est "biopsychologique" ou "biophysiological". Cette distinction nous semble exister dans les mots plus que dans la nature.

F. MOREL.

*

INTRODUCTION À LA PSYCHOLOGIE. (L'instinct et l'émotion.) Par J. Larguier des Bancel, Prof. à l'université de Lausanne. (Paris, Payot, 1921. 282 pages.)

Il est toujours injuste de ne considérer un livre qu'à un seul point de vue. Le livre de Larguier des Bancel, sur l'instinct et l'émotion, est remarquable par son érudition, par sa clarté et ses vues historiques. Il est d'autant plus précieux qu'en langue française, les livres consacrés à l'introduction de la psychologie sont rares et mauvais. Se plaçant d'emblée sur le terrain de la psychologie physiologique, l'auteur reste sur un terrain scientifique; mais il n'en reconnaît pas moins pour cela les vérités qui ont été dites dans un langage plus philosophique par les grands esprits du XVII^e et du XVIII^e siècle. Si maintenant nous considérons le parti que L. a su tirer de la psa. pour étudier l'instinct ou l'émotion, nous devons convenir qu'il est maigre. L'auteur ne semble connaître de Freud que sa brochure intitulée "Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie", mais il ignore les articles si importants que le maître de Vienne a consacré plus tard aux instincts et à l'inconscient. Cela est d'autant plus regrettable que l'auteur ne semble avoir aucun parti pris contre la psa. L'attitude qu'il a vis-à-vis de questions telles que la sexualité infantile, le complexe d'Oedipe et l'origine de la crainte en font foi. Cependant, comme l'auteur connaît la psa. aussi au travers des livres français, il perpétue cette erreur comme quoi Freud ferait dériver tous les instincts de l'instinct sexuel.

Nous sommes certains que le livre de L. sera appelé à avoir un grand succès. Nous espérons que dans les éditions prochaines, l'auteur comblera les quelques lacunes que j'ai brièvement signalées.

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE.

*

AUTOEROTIC PHENOMENA IN ADOLESCENCE. By K. Menzies, with a foreword by Dr. Ernest Jones. (Published by H. K. Lewis and Co. Ltd., London. Second Edition 1921, pp. 100. Price 5s.)

This is one of the few books in English on this important topic, and one of the most modern works on it in any language. Most previous writings antedate the fundamental discoveries of modern clinical psychology. Mr. Menzies, who has an extensive knowledge of the recent work accomplished in psychology, has here dealt with the various problems of onanism from this point of view. The book is written, not for the expert, but for teachers, parents, clergymen and others, who may have to deal with these difficult matters in concrete cases. The other conclusions are rather on the conservative side, but he makes a strong plea for a more sympathetic consideration of the difficulties

through which so many people pass during the years of adolescence. He insists that any harm resulting from onanistic practices is due far more to the mental conflicts accompanying them than to the practices themselves. Of special interest, and containing many original comments, is the chapter on Ethical Considerations, where an attempt is made to approximate Catholic teaching with the conclusions of modern psychology.

In conclusion, the book is one that can be cordially recommended to all those whose concern it is to deal with the sexual struggles of adolescence.

We would suggest that in a future edition the author defines the term 'onanism' on page 15.

E. J.

*

MARGARET FULLER, A PSYCHOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHY. By Catharine Anthony. (Harcourt, Brace and Howe. Pp. 220.)

We are here presented with a most interesting subject of biography—even though one intimately known to a wide public by now—and the method of dealing with it from a psychological standpoint is, of course, a valuable one. It is much to be hoped that in the future we shall have more work of this kind: character, either taken from life or from creative art, examined from the psycho-analytical standpoint, such as has already been done in a few notable instances (e. g. Leonardo da Vinci by Freud, Hamlet by Ernest Jones, etc.).

The present volume certainly gives us Margaret Fuller in a vivid and interesting aspect, with the warmth of an advocate, as the author frankly admits in her preface—but it is none the worse for that. Miss Anthony has the gift of vivid portraiture, of descriptive imagery, and of warm feeling. Margaret's struggles in her love and ambition are well brought before us, but there the matter ends. There is hardly any psychological treatment—certainly no psycho-analytical application—throughout the book, so that it remains something of a disappointment, in view of the expectations aroused by the title. Her intellectual theories, her love-impulses, her homosexuality, her leanings towards men younger than herself, her delight in suffering—all these things might well be illuminated by the searchlight of psycho-analytic investigation. Perhaps another country-woman will take up the task.

BARBARA LOW.

*

FIJIAN SOCIETY, OR THE SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FIJIANS. By W. Deane, M.A., B.D. (Macmillan and Co., London, 1921. Pp. 248, Bibliography and Map. Price 16s.)

The value of this study of the Fijian lies very largely in the first hand nature of the material it contains. The book is the expansion of a thesis written for a degree in Philosophy in the University of Sydney, but the material was collected while the author was in charge of a missionary training college in Fiji, with opportunities of travel among the islands of the group, and in daily contact with Fijians. The subtitle suggests a more exhaustive treatment than is attempted. Description rather than analysis of the considerable mass of evidence is undertaken. The transitions are accordingly at times abrupt, but the various topics are presented with much freshness, and the geographical background in its relation to Fijian culture is indicated with a vividness that is often lacking in works of this kind. The natural connection linking beliefs, customs and the development of the skilled arts with the occupations necessarily followed by islanders in quest of food, viz.: fishing and the making of canoes, nets, etc., is abundantly illustrated (the chapter on net-making is remarkably interesting). Again, the folk-tale or legend of the doings of the clan-leader hero, Tanovu, in part a creation-myth, gains immensely by the way it is referred to the geography of Kandavu, an island which with its minor archipelago is separated by a deep sound from the rest of the group. Similarly when Mr. Deane tells us of the mysterious paths cut through the forest along the highest ridges of the mountain-ranges of the main islands leading on to lonely spurs of rock overhanging the sea, and yet accessible from the villages where men are born and die, a new comprehension dawns on us of the Pathway of the Souls' (Sala Ni Yalo) described by J. G. Frazer in his 'Belief in Immortality' (Vol. I, p. 462 et. seq. 1913).

The author is of opinion that the inhabitants of Viti Levu are later immigrants from the east and of Polynesian stock, and contrasts their development of chieftainship and ancestor worship with the animism of the purely Melanesian race of the more northerly island of Vanua Levu. This ethnological theory may or may not be justified, but in view of Mr. Deane's recurring emphasis on chieftainship it is surprising that he pays only scant attention to Totemism, dismissing it, in fact, in one paragraph. He constantly recognises his debt to Mr. Rivers' 'History of Melanesian Society', and he can scarcely be unaware that in 1908 Mr. Rivers made a careful investigation of the village deities of Rewa in Viti Levu, and pronounced them to be 'totems in process of evolving into gods', having definitely slipped, as Frazer puts it, their animal envelopes, but with the power of resuming them at pleasure, and being moreover now associated with tribes and not with minor divisions or groups. The significance of this Mr. Rivers points out to be that 'the

chief has imposed his totem on the whole tribe' ('Totemism in Fiji', an article published in *Man*, 1908, VIII, p. 134 et seq.). Mr. Deane notices that the chief god of one village is a shark, but does not draw the obvious conclusion as to the survival of totemism in the new institution of tribal chieftainship. One is tempted to ask whether if the author had more clearly recognised this he might not have gained further insight into the extremely interesting facts he adduces about the customs of the tambúa or whale's tooth. This object he rightly pronounces to be far more than the medium of exchange or complimentary present it merely appears at first sight. Its connection with 'mana', the veneration paid to it, its close association with the rites of burial and with the belief in immortality—it must be tendered by every Fijian ghost on passing a certain tree in the Pathway of Souls (Sala Ni Yalo)—all would point to its being a 'symbol' in a sense that Mr. Deane despite his deliberate choice of the word seems to miss.

The whole book is naturally largely inspired by the author's interest in the development and possible 'uplift' of the Fijian character, but he is not altogether convincing when for example he attempts to derive the sense of moral obligation from taboo, partly because he appears to ignore the fundamental meaning of taboo, and to assign the phenomenon to accident or caprice. His study of Fijian mental characteristics is however for the most part illuminating as well as sympathetic.

A lighter note is struck in the amusing chapter on Etiquette. To wear a shoulder scarf or to use palm leaf as an umbrella is tambu (not done), an offence doubtless equivalent to that of appearing at the Eton and Harrow match in a straw hat. A recent letter to *The Times* dilating on the enormity of this lapse sets us wondering how far we are after all from the mentality of these simple and punctilious islanders.

C. J. M. HUBBACK.

*

ADVANCED SUGGESTION (NEUROINDUCTION). By Haydn Brown, L.R.C.P., etc. Edin. (Baillière, Tindall and Cox, London, 1921. Pp. 402. Price 10s. 6d.).

Egotism is the only word to describe this book on 'Advanced Suggestion'. The style from beginning to end is bombastic and self-laudatory. It is almost inconceivable that a medical man in writing what is intended to be a scientific work for medical men should make such a remark as the following: "It was not to favour me that a Gold Medallist M.D. was recommended to me as patient by another Gold Medallist M.D." (p. 16). Self-satisfiedness and desire for notoriety is evident in this passage (p. 357): "I shall be glad to demonstrate before

not less than fifty assembled qualified medical men. Had I methods which were inexplicable I might show them to a few individuals in order to find out what they thought of them for my own sake. But in that they are explicable just a few might not properly understand. If I address fifty or more I consider I shall establish the first position for my principles out of the wide acceptance I should certainly win. Until I have my conditions fulfilled I shall not wish to demonstrate".

The ease and complacency with which the author arrives at far-reaching conclusions is shown on page 17. He quotes from an analysis of a case which he says shows the importance of a study of neuroinduction. The case is as follows: 'A daughter complained of a dread of having anything to do with birds; she would neither eat chicken nor countenance feathers in hats. It was found that her mother had been terrified by a parrot becoming suddenly entangled in her hair while she was "carrying" the offspring *in utero*; thus I have found that certain "maternal impressions", of various kinds, are real'. What the author means by 'an analysis' of the case, or what importance a study of neuroinduction has for it he does not tell the reader, perhaps for very good reasons. Thus does he eschew the realm of scientific thought and descends below the mental level of the man in the street.

Fourteen chapters in the book are devoted to diseases and affections which the author has treated by neuroinduction and, according to his statements, cured. It seems to us much time and labour would have been saved in writing the book if he had simply indicated those affections which he could not influence by his method. Apparently a short paragraph would have been sufficient for this purpose.

His description of neuroinduction seems to be an unscientific rehash of the views of Déjérine, Dubois and Boris Sidis, mixed up with psycho-physical attempts at explanation of mental phenomena. He puts forward a new nomenclature for the processes he describes, and spurns the present day use and definition of psychological terms. He decries the work of psychologists and psycho-therapists and advances his view and method as the only rational one. The author has discarded the fundamental principles of psychology and attempted to put in their place a conglomerate mass of unscientific ideas. Therefore a further criticism would give this book a prominence that it does not merit.

D. B.

REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

THE HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE FIRST HALF YEAR 1921

A. Scientific Meetings

January 27, 1921. Contributions and casuistic communications:
Frau Dr. E. Radó-Révész: Synaesthetic hallucination as an hysterical symptom.

Dr. I. Hollós: Autosymbolism in the content of the psychoses.

Dr. S. Radó: (a) Acting of the behaviour pertaining to the 'Primordial Scene' during the Analysis. (b) Œdipus motive in the technical and scientific activity of discoverers and inventors. (c) The fifth Commandment.

Dr. S. Ferenczi: (a) Symbolism of veils, points, net-work. (b) Anxiety and libido. (c) The tailor's sons. (d) Materialisation in globus hystericus. (e) On noting during the relating of dreams. (f) On shuddering at the stroking of silk, tearing of linen, etc. (g) Death during Coitus. (h) Esau's inheritance. (i) A symptom of lying. (j) Ambivalent kissing. (k) Anal hollow penis. (l) The Medusa head. (m) Examination dreams. (n) The dream of the knowing babe.

February 6, 1921. Contributions and casuistic communications.

Dr. J. M. Eisler: A decent woman.

Dr. S. Feldmann: Feelings of guilt at onanism.

Dr. S. Pfeifer: Libido tendencies in love disappointments.

February 20, 1921. Dr. J. M. Eisler: An attack of maniacal excitement.

March 6, 1921. Dr. M. Eisler: Review of Freud's "Beyond the Pleasure-Principle".

March 20, 1921. Dr. S. Radó: (a) A disturbance of the sexual act in women. (b) Metapsychological characterisation of the libido.

April 3, 1921. Dr. I. Hollós: Psycho-analytic attempts at interpretation and explanation in General Paralysis.

April 17, 1921. Dr. G. Róheim: Adonis, Attis, Osiris.

May 1, 1921. Dr. G. Róheim: Dionysius and the bull.

Dr. G. Szilágyi: (a) A case of hostility to the genital hair. (b) From the mental life of a young spiritist.

May 22, 1921. Dr. S. Feldmann: Analysis of a case of hysteria with manic-depressive traits.

June 5, 1921. Frau Margit Varró: (As guest.) On the psychology of pianoforte teaching.

B. Business Meetings

February 6, 1921. General Meeting. The annual report was presented and accepted. The member's Subscription was raised to Kr. 350. The Committee was re-elected, Frau Dr. E. Radó-Révész appointed as Librarian and Dr. Eisler as Corresponding Secretary. The meeting expressed officially its thanks to Frau Rózsi v. Freund for the generous gift of Kr. 20.000, made by her to the Society Library on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of her husband Anton v. Freund.

June 5, 1921. Congratulation of Dr. G. Róheim on the occasion of his being awarded the International Literary Prize for Applied Psycho-Analysis.

Correction to Annual Report of 1920 (Vol. I, p. 370).

Scientific meeting on December 19, (a) Dr. I. Hermann: Contributions to the problem of the talent for drawing. (b) Dr. S. Ferenczi: From the unaesthetic to the aesthetic.

THE AMERICAN PSYCHOANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of The American Psychoanalytical Association was held in Atlantic City, June 12, 1921. The attendance was very satisfactory, many guests were present, and new members were enrolled.

The same question as last year, of disbanding the society, and of combining it with the American Psychopathological Association, come up for discussion. It was the opinion of the majority, and so voted, that there was a definite need of a national psychoanalytical organization, as a recognized body, to give psychoanalysis the scientific standing it deserves. It was decided that the constitution and the general organization of the society should be retained, and that one individual should be appointed to arrange for the meeting for next year. Dr. Taneyhill, of Baltimore, was elected for that purpose. Dr. Taneyhill appointed Dr. Oberndorf of New York City as secretary.

The meeting was an informal one. The subject was "Unsuccessful Analyses". Dr. Brill discussed the type of case that at first sight should yield good results, but on closer study proves unamenable to psychoanalytic therapy.

The following case is typical. A man in whom there is a weakness of the adult sex life; many infantile activities are indulged in at the present time, in the form of frequent enemata, talking very much of his constipation; giving his wife enemata, because he felt that she, being a woman, could not do it right. He was fond of scatological jokes; very economical; well developed skin eroticism; indulging in it by being frequently rubbed and massaged. Chewed tobacco inveterately. Dr. Brill sums it up by saying that there is an executive weakness of the *vita sexualis*, not organized into adult sex activities, but retaining its infantile manifestations. The weakness is acquired or environmental and not congenital, due to drab, pleasureless home environment in infancy and early childhood. The absence of a strong, virile father may be an important factor. Dr. Brill added that the type is the chronic neurasthenic or the old type of anxiety neurosis.

Dr. Kempf of Washington, in discussing Dr. Brill's remarks, wished to take exception to excluding psychiatric cases from the group that may be favorably treated by psychoanalysis. He instanced a number of cases, some of the precox group, that had been thus treated. However, after describing the method of treatment he employed, it was pointed out by several of the members, especially Drs. Oberndorf and MacCurdy of New York, that the method could not be called psychoanalysis in the strict sense, but that it was suggestion, plus the application of psychoanalytical knowledge in the form of advice and direction.

Dr. Kempf also insisted on the physician maintaining the positive phase of the transference, as if that were wholly in the power of the analyst.

Dr. White, of Washington, also spoke for the application of psychoanalysis to the psychotic; especially in institutions; that the transference is different under such circumstances. Educational treatment was applicable.

Dr. Wholly, of Pittsburg, mentioned the limitations to analysis, along the lines previously noted.

Dr. Clark, of New York, gave it as his experience that dementia precox and retarded manics are unfavorable, because of the hereditary factor, and of the fixation and the impoverishment of instincts. The transference is not lasting, and it may be too intense. The elated manic is not amenable, except in the remission. In tics, torticollis, cramps, the make-up is very infantile, transference is poor and free associations are scanty. In sexual inversion, success is poor.

Dr. Oberndorf stated that he has the greatest difficulty among those patients who fitted more or less into the narcissistic group, or here a manageable transference is difficult if not impossible to obtain.

Dr. MacCurdy gave his experience as corresponding to a great extent with that of Dr. Brill; the patients represented such as lived a very colorless emotional life; their symptoms also were colorless, the production during the analysis poor, very few, or such dreams as were a repetition of the daily life; there is a lack of free associations, and the transference is poor. These patients fit into the group of neurasthenics. They all have a poor fund of energy.

Dr. Stern of New York mentioned experiences similar to those of the other analysts, especially in cases that evidence the narcissistic

component as an important factor in the psychopathology. In the case of Dr. Brill's patient it is probable that a cessation of the autoerotic indulgences may bring about the possibility of a transference. Dr. Stern suggested that such patients, where possible, should be kept under long treatment, when the narcissistic components and the autoerotic ones also, might be displaced by object love.

July 20, 1921.

ADOLPH STERN.

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No. 1

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